

THE VOLGA GERMAN DIALECT OF MILBERGER, KANSAS

BY

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Abstract

The uniqueness of the Volga Germans is in that their language was isolated from the linguistic developments in their German homeland and underwent unique changes, while conserving old features of the native dialect. The research subject for the present study is a Lutheran Volga German community in western Kansas that was founded in 1876 by German immigrants from the Volga region. This study focuses on several major areas while describing this community: First, history of the settlement is examined, including origin of the first settlers in Milberger. Second, the present dissertation provides a description of the phonological and morphological system of the dialect spoken by natives of this community. It also pays particular attention to the comparative analysis of the described dialect with the dialects that were spoken in two mother colonies on the Volga that subjects of this study identified as places of origin for their ancestors. Since some informants who were interviewed for this research were able to share the German origin of their ancestors, and their information was backed by genealogical research that is available online, the Milberger dialect was compared with Zhirmunski's description of the Central Franconian koine and the semi-dialect of Darmstadt.

The third major area of investigation is the development of the language situation in this community that can be traced back with help of the interviews carried out in 2007-2008 in Russell, Kansas, Neale Carman's fieldwork notes, and available newspaper articles. These materials also allowed analyzing reasons for the language loss in this area.

Particularly interesting linguistic features discussed in the present dissertation are diglossia and interferences from Russian and English that had an impact on this dialect. The study provides examples on how the "sectarian" diglossia that exists in this community resulted in leveling of some dialectal features towards High German. The present research also addresses in detail the

list of Russian borrowings that was collected in 1910s in Russell, providing points for discussion, on whether some of these words could, in fact, have been borrowed before settlers arrived in Russia.

To Helen, Arthur, and my Mom

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I. Introduction

Volga Germans are an interesting linguistic community that provides rich study material for dialect researchers. Speakers of different German dialects settled in Russian and American environments in isolation from both their homeland and from each other, thus creating a linguistic network that usually conserved old dialectal features and, at the same time, underwent unique developments. Zhirmunski called research of speech island dialects (*Siedlungsmundarten*) “one of the most important tasks of modern Germanistik” and compared them with “language laboratories” where linguistic isolation provides scholars with unique data on language development that occur in a comparatively short period of time (1930, 113). Aside from the interest in studying language mechanisms, the decline of the Volga German dialects in the twenty-first century, makes it an urgent task to document them in order to preserve what is left of these languages which are facing a full demise.

History of research

The first fundamental project in practical dialectology was Wenker’s *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches*. Wenker compiled forty sentences that included a variety of phonological features and morphological forms designed to elicit data for a detailed linguistic description of a dialect. His goals were to create a precise linguistic profile of each region and to find principles for grouping dialects and subdialects. His questionnaires that contained these sentences written in Standard German were sent out to some 50,000 separate locations and had to be transcribed into local dialects by schoolmasters or teachers. Despite the disadvantages of the indirect questioning, Wenker’s work resulted in eventual publishing of the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* in 1886. The German Language Atlas has been edited and expanded over decades and nowadays it

exists in a digitized version as DiWA (*Digitaler Wenker-Atlas*), an online project that allows access to all dialectal maps.

Research on Volga German Dialects in Germany and in Russia

Another area of dialectology that emerged in the twentieth century was study of speech islands. A speech island is defined by Mattheier as “a language community that is geographically separated from its linguistic homeland as a language minority and is surrounded by a linguistically/ethnically different community” (16).

The first studies on the Volga German settlements were historical or ethnographic in nature and involved no linguistic data. The very first attempt at a linguistic research was made in 1913 by Losinger who was part of the team working on the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* in Germany. He sent out Wenker sentences to the Volga region and received translations from eighty-seven mother colonies and fifty-seven daughter colonies. Another German linguist, von Unwerth (1918), used data gathered from several Russian prisoners of war, who originated from the Volga-German communities, to write the dissertation where he attempted to describe and to classify dialects spoken by his informants. His approach was criticized by Georg Dinges, Professor at the University of Saratov, who revealed that Unwerth’s findings were flawed, since he made no distinction between the dialects spoken in mother colonies and in daughter colonies. Daughter colonies were founded by speakers from multiple villages who spoke different dialects and thus could not be easily identified as speakers of a specific German dialect (1925, 16).

Dinges was the first linguist in Russia who started studying Volga German dialects within the framework proposed by Wenker. After defending his never published dissertation “Influence of Russian in Volga German Dialects” in 1917, Dinges travelled through the Volga villages and

collected linguistic material for his project of classifying the Volga German dialects. Many decades later, his materials were published by Nina Berend in the *Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas* (1997). Dinges' work was continued by his student, Andreas Dulson, who also studied the Low German dialects on the Volga and defended the dissertation on "The Problem of the Dialect Convergence" (1938).

A major contribution to linguistic studies of German speech islands in Russia and of German dialects in Germany was made by Zhirmunski. Initially a researcher of Russian literature, Zhirmunski was motivated to study German speech dialects allegedly inspired by Dinges and the idea that social events might soon change the communication behavior in language enclaves. As cited in Aumüller, Zhirmunski wrote to Wrede that changing communication behavior

was due to the fact that since World War I, 'the German language was banished from public communication for fairly a long time' and had been replaced even among the young Germans themselves, 'so that it is high time to collect and publish what has remained.'¹

The *Nemetskaya dialektologiya* that Zhirmunski published in 1956² is still considered to be a fundamental work in German dialectology. In addition, he wrote multiple articles on German dialects in the Soviet Union that he studied during his fieldwork in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Volga German dialects experienced a new wave of interest in the 1990s, following a half a century of silence, caused by the mass deportations during WWII. In 1997, Berend published the *Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas* (WDSA), a collection of linguistic maps that are based on data gathered by Georg Dinges. The maps in WDSA show the distribution of phonological features, grammatical forms and of specific lexical items in the Volga region. Berend also published

¹ Zhirmunski's letter to Wrede, June 20, 1924 (DSA). Translated and cited by Aumüller.

² It was translated into German and published in 1962 with the title *Deutsche Mundartkunde*.

numerous articles and was the editor of several essay collections on speech islands (1991, 1994, 1998, 2003). Currently, her projects at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim deal with *Migrationslinguistik* that studies peculiarities of the German language spoken by Russian immigrants in Germany.

Numerous articles on different aspects of Volga German dialects were published by Russian linguists in the last two decades (Naiditsch, Asfandiarova, Moskalyuk, Dyatlova, etc.). In the 2000s, several dissertations that investigated Volga German dialects were defended at different Russian universities: the Polytechnical University of Tomsk (Alexandrov, 2007), the State University of Saratov (Frolova, 1999; Nebaykina, 2004); the Pedagogical State University of Saratov (Sychalina, 2008), the Vyatskiy State University of Arts and Humanities in Kirov (Baykova, 2003; Berezina, 2009), and the Pedagogical State University of Barnaul (Stepanova, 2002). Other universities where regional Volga German dialects are the subject of extensive research are the Altayskiy State University in Barnaul (Moskalyuk) and the University of Krasnoyarsk (Dyatlova).

Research of the Volga German Dialects in the United States

The first attempts to explore Kansan Volga German dialects linguistically were made by Judge J.C. Ruppenthal in 1913. He was interested in the Volga German community that resided in his hometown of Russell, Kansas, so Ruppenthal wrote articles about the history and language of these people. The linguistic description of the dialect was limited to a general note on its Hessian origin; however, a list of Russian borrowings that he collected comprised an important part of his work.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Carman conducted fieldwork throughout Kansas, exploring non-English speaking communities of the state. His unpublished papers with notes, newspapers, and letter exchanges are preserved at the Spencer Research Library (University of Kansas) and include several boxes filled with alphabetically organized folders. Carman travelled to Russell County several times and visited Milberger, Russell, Dorance, and Bunker Hill. His notes provide important information about the language situation in this Volga German community in the 1950s and in the 1960s.

Large Catholic settlements in Western Kansas have drawn the most attention of dialectologists in the years following Carman's publications. The earlier papers written by Gilbert (1976) and Denning (1977) were an attempt to locate the homeland of the dialect spoken in Ellis County. However, their findings turned out to be incorrect, as was proven later by Keel and Johnson.

An extensive research of German dialects at the University of Kansas started in early 1980s (Keel 1981, 1982, 1989, etc.). Several term papers, master theses, and a dissertation (Johnson 1994) written by students at the German Department in the 1980s and the 1990s contributed to the field of Volga German dialects research by providing their detailed linguistic description and saving samples of these languages on tapes.

The most recent dissertation projects at the University of Kansas investigated the Low German dialects in Northern Kansas and Pennsylvania German in the South-Central part of the state. Thus, a number of the main German speaking groups in Kansas have already been researched at the German Department. On the contrary, the Lutheran Volga Germans in Western Kansas (Russell County) remained the only group that has never been investigated. An unpublished term paper by Deborah Feldman, submitted in 1981 at the University of Kansas, provides a phonological analysis of a Lutheran German dialect spoken in Dorance – another town located

in Russell County, Kansas. This is the only research that was conducted on the language of this group of people.

Structure of the study

The present study will contribute to the research of Volga German dialects in Kansas by providing its description and analysis with emphasis on the following issues: history of the settlement, origin of its inhabitants, language situation in the area, description of phonology and grammatical structure of the dialect and analysis of contact-induced changes.

Chapter 1 presents the historical background of the Volga Germans from their arrival in Russia to their immigration to the United States. This general overview is followed by discussion on the reasons for immigration to America. This chapter also provides information on the origin of the inhabitants in certain villages on the Volga and describes both the past and present of the Milberger community.

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology and morphology of the Milberger dialect. The second sound shift, lenition, and assimilation are major points that help to describe peculiarities of the consonantism in the Milberger dialect. The discussion of the vocalism uses the Middle High German sound system as a comparative basis. Further, I describe in detail the morphological system of the dialect in question, including verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and prepositions. In this chapter, I also compare the Milberger dialect with the available data on the dialects spoken in the Volga villages of Kratzke, Holstein, and Eckheim and then discuss the possible German origin of the Milberger dialect.

Chapter 3 elaborates on issues from language contact studies, including language loss, bilingualism and diglossia, interference and borrowing. I examine how the Milberger dialect fits

into the picture of language loss, what types of bilingualism were common for this group of people and how contacts with Russian and English have affected this particular dialect. Part of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the Russian lexical borrowings in the Milberger dialect and provides points for discussion on whether these words were borrowed prior to their immigration to Russia. The conclusion summarizes the main points of the study and gives perspectives for further research.

Methodology of data collection and informants

The fieldwork for this study started in May 2007. The very first informant was referred to me by Scott Seeger, a doctoral student at the University of Kansas, who was investigating a Low German dialect community in Kansas. He was contacted by the daughter of one Volga German lady who mistakenly thought that her mother was a Low German dialect speaker. I called the mother of Seeger's contact (hereafter Informant 2), who sounded very eager to participate in a study about her language and informed me that she invited her cousin (hereafter Informant 1) to join us for the interview. As they later told me, they both were quite afraid of the appearance of a "big old Russian woman professor," so they decided to stick together for the first meeting. Seeing a younger person was reportedly a big relief for them, so the first interview lasted for over three hours, but it flew by like fifteen minutes. Both ladies told stories from their past with great enthusiasm, however only one of them (Informant 1) had a good command of German. She could easily translate sentences and spoke fluently. Nevertheless, Informant 2 provided very valuable information about Russian borrowings in their dialect, the history of the settlement, and the language situation in this area.

Some names were provided by Oren Windholz, the President at the Bukovina German Society in Ellis County. Before going to Milberger for the first time, I called Mr. Windholz' contacts, as well as several other people with German last names whose ages were specified as "sixty plus" in the online phone book of Russell at whitepages.com. Most last names were already familiar to me from the settlers list of the Volga German colony of Kratzke, the place that was mentioned by Carman as one of the villages where inhabitants of Milberger originated. After introducing myself and talking briefly about the study, I asked people about their willingness to participate. The response was very diverse - several people declined the meeting with the explanation that they did not remember any German, some referred me to other people, and only two people agreed to meet. However, I met only with one of those who agreed, while the second person canceled our meeting on the day of the interview.

Becoming good friends with Informant 1 facilitated the search for new informants, since she started calling people herself to refer me to them. Potential informants still sounded very cautious during my follow-up calls, and not many of them agreed to meet. Cancelling interviews when I was already in town for scheduled meetings was very common. Informant 1 explained that most of these people were as scared as she was to meet with a foreigner.

In the process of the fieldwork (May 2007 to March 2008), I was able to meet with fourteen people, however, not all of them were able to speak German. Some could only remember isolated words; others tried to translate Wenker sentences or to tell a story, but stumbled at the beginning and refused to go on. Only informants who were able to translate all Wenker sentences were selected for the linguistic analysis in this study.

All informants whose interviews were used for the analysis come from the Milberger community and currently live in the town of Russell. They were born and grew up in this area - many living

on farms - and never left Russell County for an extended period of time.

All informants were Lutheran, had similar levels of education (some have professional training in addition to high school) and did not have drastic deviations in their social status (middle class). The people in this community have always been active church members: they all visited Sunday school, all were confirmed and married in German. They are first or second generation Americans with the age range from 73 to 90 years old.

Informant 1

She was born in 1924 six miles south of Milberger, in Galatia, Kansas (Barton County). Her German speaking parents were born and grew up in Milberger; she and her four sisters grew up on a farm. Her paternal grandmother came from Kratzke in the 1880s. German was the only language her family used at home, so she had no English proficiency before entering school, where she learned English as a second language. Her late husband was born in the same area, had the same Volga German background and spoke the same dialect. During the sixty year marriage, their native dialect was used exclusively in their everyday communication. Some of the people on neighboring farms were German as well, so Informant 1 and her husband had an opportunity to use the dialect outside of the house. All of her three children could speak some German when they were little, but they do not remember it now. Informant 1 was very eager to participate in the interview process. She was very fluent, spoke fast and clear, was able to translate Wenker sentences, and could easily tell stories in her dialect.

Informant 2

She was born in 1926 in Galatia, Kansas. Her father and the father of Informant 1 were brothers. A grandfather that Informant 1 and Informant 2 have in common was one of the four scouts from Kratzke, who were sent to America before their friends and family could decide, if they wanted

to relocate there. Informant 2's paternal grandmother came from Kratzke; some of her ancestors on paternal side came from Eckheim, while her mother's family was from some other place on the Volga that she did not recall. Her mother grew up in Russell, and her father was from the neighboring Barton County, but they spoke the same dialect. Informant 2 learned English at an early age, because a school teacher rented a room in their house. Even though both of her husbands were Volga Germans, she never spoke German to them. Informant 2 was able to tell one story in the dialect, but could not translate the Wenker sentences.

Informant 3

He was born in 1917 in Russell County. His father was born in 1873 in Kratzke, whereas his mother was born in Eckheim in 1876. Both of his parents spoke "absolutely the same slang." The whole family lived together in one house; they all spoke German to each other on a daily basis. Informant 3 was very fluent in his dialect; he translated Wenker sentences and could easily switch to free conversation in German.

Informant 4.

She was born in 1925 in Russell and is married to Informant 3. Her mother's ancestors were German, but she did not recall, whether they came from Germany or from Russia. Her father was born in Holstein, Russia, and came to America at the age of nine. Her parents never spoke German to each other.

Informant 4 married her husband when she was seventeen years old and had to move in with his family. Her mother-in-law threatened her "*wenn du net daitsch schwätzt dann antworte ich net,*" ("*if you do not speak German [to me], I am not going to answer*"), so she picked up the dialect from her husband and his father. Informant 4 learned German dialect relatively late in her life and never used it unless she "had to". She never attended a German Sunday school, as other

interviewees, which resulted in the lack of High German features in the way she spoke, as will be discussed in 3.4. She was able to translate all Wenker sentences, but did not feel comfortable to tell stories in the dialect.

Informant 5

He was born in 1924 in Russell. His father was native of Holstein, Russia (b.1892), who came to the United States in 1915. Informant's mother was born in Russell (1898) as a daughter of a Volga German father from Eckheim, Russia and a Volga German mother, who was born in the United States. Informant 5 spoke fluent German; he translated the Wenker sentences and easily switched to free conversation in his dialect, even when general sociolinguistic questions were asked.

Informant 6

She was born in 1925 in Russell and is married to Informant 5. Her father was born in Russell in a Volga German family, while her mother was a native of Eckheim, Russia (b.1902), who came to America at the age of nineteen.

The marriage ceremony of Informant 5 and Informant 6 was conducted in German, upon the wish of the groom's father. For Informant 6, the ceremony "went in one ear, and left from the other," indicating that the ceremony was not clear to her, an experience that apparently some Volga Germans of that generation had in common (see Informant 7).

In the everyday conversation, the couple employed a mixture of German and English, but gradually they switched to English and no longer used their native dialect while speaking to each other. The informant thinks she lost most of her German skills; however, she translated all the Wenker sentences and tried to tell stories in the dialect. During free speech, she often switched back to English.

Informant 7

She was born in 1926 in Russell, the hometown of her father. Her mother came from Kratzke, Russia. Informant's parents spoke German at home, so she did not know English prior to the elementary school. She was married in German, but thinks it was a mistake, since by the age when they were getting married, she and her future husband were more used to speaking English, so German vows did not sound "meaningful" to them. After their children were born, the couple completely switched to English in their everyday conversations. Their daughter picked up some dialect from Informant's mother-in-law, who did not know how to speak English. Informant 7 was very fluent in her dialect and was able to translate the Wenker sentences and to tell stories in German.

Informant 8

He was born in Russell in 1934 in a family of a clerk who worked in Milberger. Informant 8 always spoke German to his parents, but they all used to switch to English outside of the house. His family attended church where services were held in German. His wife is American, so their children do not know German. In order not to lose connection to his roots, he actively participates in Volga German organizations. His ancestors on his father's side came from Bessarabia to Eckheim on the Volga, from where they later relocated to Kansas. His mother's family was from the Volga German village of Lauwe, Russia. The dialect spoken by members of Informant 8's family (including his ancestors) was seen by all other interviewees as a "different dialect." One of the informants remembered that her father referred to their family as *pobotschner* ("die *sin pobotschner*"), but she was not sure what this expression meant. It is possible that this family was seen by other members of the community as former inhabitants of

the village Pobotchnaya on the Volga, even though Informant himself did not mention that name when speaking about the history of his family.

Interview process

Most subjects were interviewed in their homes, except for Informants 5 and 6, a married couple, who came to the house of Informant 1. Each interview lasted from two to three hours and started off with questions on the speaker's background (Appendix 2) that some of the participants answered in German.

After the introductory part, speakers were presented with handouts containing forty Wenker sentences (Appendices 3 and 4) that they were asked to translate into their dialect. The Wenker sentences were written in English to avoid any influence from Standard German on the informant's translations. Some of the interviewees – those who had an excellent command of German - were asked to translate several verb paradigms and sentences that contained categories that rarely occur in free speech, such as the passive voice, imperative, or subjunctive.

Next, informants were asked additional words from the dtv-Atlas and the WDSA (Appendices 5 and 6) that were later used to define a possible origin of their dialect with the help of maps collected in these atlases.

Further, I pronounced all Russian words from the list compiled by J.C. Ruppenthal, accompanied by the additional questionnaire of Russian words collected on the Volga (Appendix 7) and asked interviewees, if they recognized them. At the end of the interview, informants were asked to describe pictures with rural scenes (Appendix 8) and to tell any stories in their dialect.³

³ Questionnaires and other materials are attached at the end of the study.

Transcription.

The transcription that is used in this study is based on German orthography to ensure easy readability. Instead of introducing different phonetic symbols to specify fricatives that frequently get lenited to corresponding voiced sounds, instances of lenition will be underlined: *missn* (/mizn/ - *müssen* “to have to”), *graische* (/graize/ - *kreischen* “to yell”). The voiced velar stop /g/ can lenite to different sounds (/ç/, /ɣ/, or /x/), depending on its position in the word. The rules of lenition in the dialect follow the same rules that are applied in Standard German: palatal /ç/ is deployed after front vowels and after liquids, whereas velar /ɣ/ is used after back vowels. Thus, in order to avoid phonetic symbols in a reader-friendly transcription, the lenited *g* will be underlined: *nagel* (*Nagel* - “nail”), *meglich* (*möglich* - “possible”), *bärg*, *bärge* (*Berg* - “mountain”). Phonetic transcription (/na:ɣəl/, /meçliç/, /berç/, /berçə/) will be used in the chapter that explains phonology of the dialect or when necessary, for example if the lenition of *g* does not follow the general rule. Instances of devoicing *g* > *x* are limited, so they will be written out: *montax* (*Montag* - “Monday”).

For a better readability, the following lenited sounds will be written out:

- The German *w* will be used for lenited *f*: *lawe* (/la:ve/ - *laufen* “to run”) and to signify lenition of the stop *b*: *liewer* (*lieber* - “dear”)
- If stops get lenited, they will be written out: *due* - “to do”, *Gratzke* - Kratzke (name of the village), *äbbl* - “apples”.

To emphasize that a vowel in a particular word is short, double consonants will be used: *äbbl* - “apples”, whereas long vowels will be specified by the absence of a double consonant. If the length of the vowel needs to be specified and no orthographic signs (e.g., *h*, *ie*) are available, I will employ a semicolon (*sa:* - *sagen* “to say”).

Unstressed *e* (*Schwa*) will be rendered as *e* (*kohle* – *Kohle* “coals”), whereas the IPA symbol /ə/ will be applied only in phonetic transcription. The palatal voiceless fricative /ç/ will be written out everywhere: *schpringe*, *kischt* (“to run; to jump”, “box, chest”). Nasal vowels will be indicated with the corresponding symbols (*ã*, *õ*) adopted into the transcription. English words embedded in German sentences will be underlined.

CHAPTER 1. History of the Volga German settlements in Russia

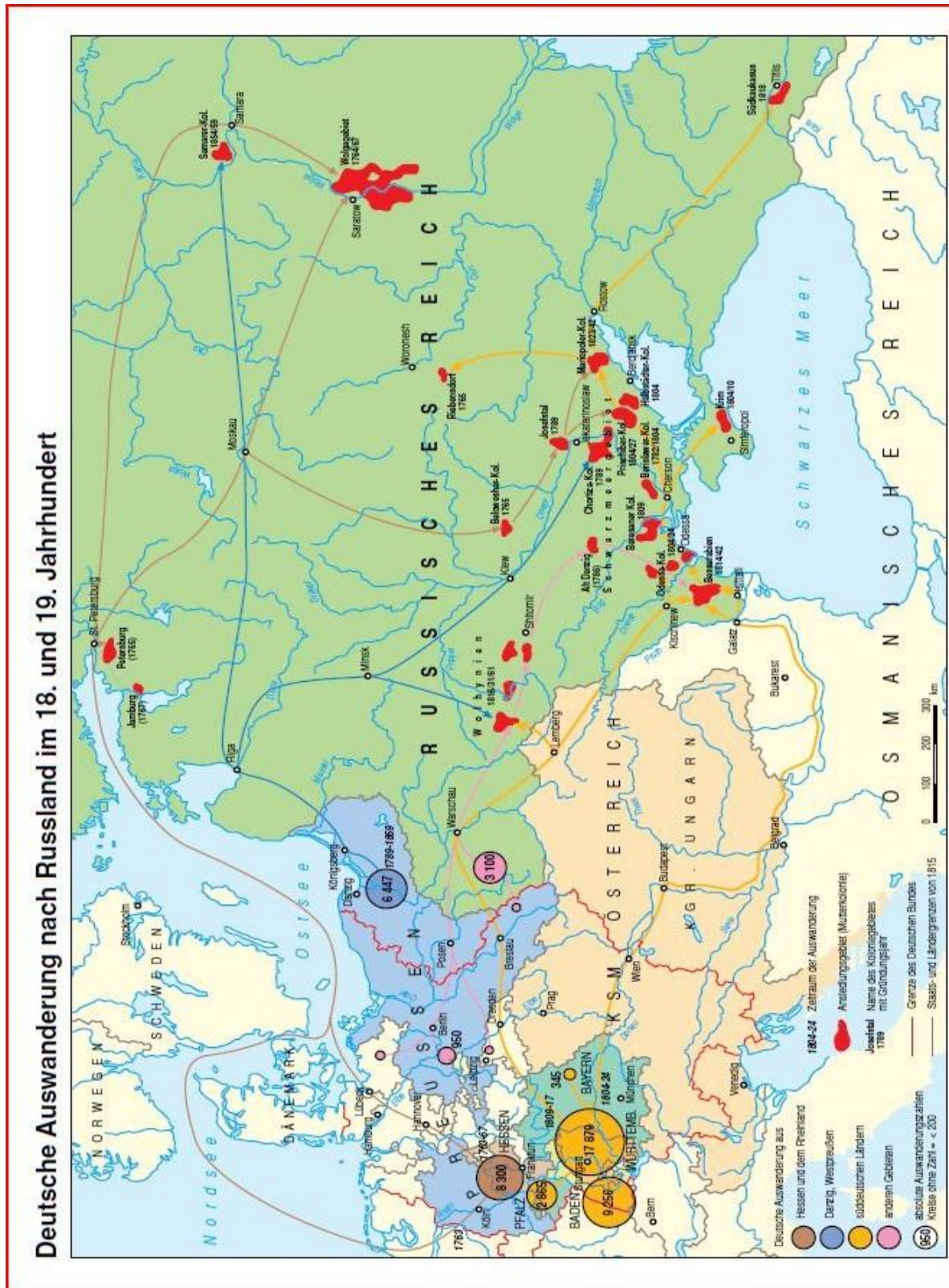
The following chapter explores the time frame and reasons for German immigration to Russia and discusses the Volga villages from where inhabitants of Milberger originated. It provides an insight into the reasons for a massive immigration to America in the 1880s and describes the journey to another continent that Kratzke inhabitants had to undertake. Further, I discuss the history of Milberger and Russell and describe the current state of these communities.

1.1 Emigration from Germany to Russia.

In the eighteenth century, the Russian Empire was an attractive destination for Europeans fleeing difficult political and economical circumstances in their homeland. The unsettled religious situation, economic hardships and political unrest caused by the continuing wars and internecine strife forced inhabitants of various German territories to emigrate.

The first German colonies on the Volga were established in the 1760s after thousands of Germans responded to the invitation of Catherine the Great, announced in her Manifestos of 1762 and 1763. Even though the local authorities in some German states prohibited the publication of Catherine's decree, it was still made public in Hessen-Kassel, the Palatinate, Prussia, and Saxony (Pleve 65). Thus, when "an open resistance to the Russian emigration policies" started in 1766, thousands of Germans had already relocated to Russia (Pleve 72, 75). By 1769, more than 20,000 people, "mostly from Hesse," founded 104 colonies on the Volga (Stricker 165; Kabuzan 32-33). The colonization of the Volga region was a part of the so-called "first wave" of the German emigration to the Russian Empire, which eventually resulted in large-scale settlements on the Volga and later around the Black Sea⁴ (map 1).

⁴ The second and the third waves occurred in the nineteenth century and affected mainly the Southern parts of the Empire: Crimea, Caucasus and Volhynia.



Map 1. German emigration to Russia in the 18th and the 19th century.⁵

⁵ www.arwela.info/8auswanderung.pdf

The subjects of this study are direct descendants of those German colonists who responded to Catherine's call and settled in the agriculturally undeveloped lands along the Volga River.

1.1.1 Villages of Kratzke, Holstein, and Eckheim.

In the consulted literature, two Volga villages - Eckheim and Kratzke - are mentioned in relation to the German settlement of Milberger. Sallet states that the town of Milberger was named after "one of the first settlers from Eckheim" (35); and Dies Roth provides readers of her booklet with birth certificates of her ancestors, where Eckheim is documented as the birthplace of her parents. Eckheim and Kratzke are also named as places of origin for all the first inhabitants of Milberger by Henry Bender (1913), Jacob Krug (interview with Ruppenthal, 1904), and Neale Carman (Historical Atlas). In addition, in Carman's *FLUK, European and American Background*, one finds a note that "a part of a group from Galka went to Southern Russell County" (167). That is the only reference to this particular village encountered in the consulted literature. Subjects of this study named three places on the Volga from where their parents emigrated to America: Kratzke, Eckheim and Holstein⁶.

Kratzke (Pochinnaya) and Holstein were mother colonies located on the Hill Side (west of the Volga), founded by Lutheran settlers in 1767 and 1765, respectively. The majority of the first Kratzke settlers, whose origin in Germany is known,⁷ came from the Kurpfalz (11 families),⁸ Prussia (2), Holstein (1) and Finland (1),⁹ whereas the origin of other nineteen pioneer families is

⁶ Ancestors of many other members of the Volga-German community in Russell come from Kratzke and Holstein. See here: <http://www.berschauer.com/Genealogy/Statistics/history.html>

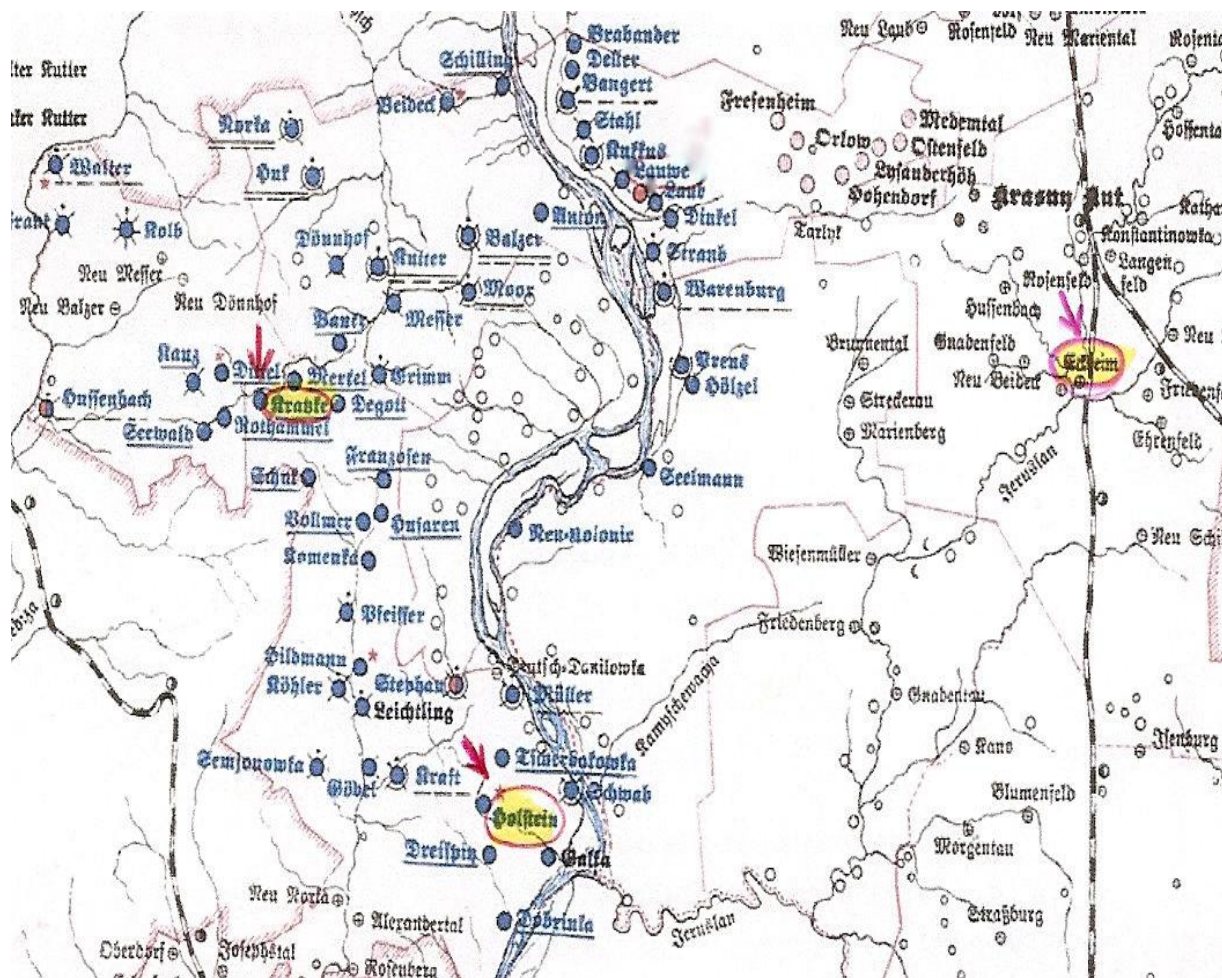
⁷ The list of the first settlers is printed in Pleve (302-390). Mai marks some places of origin as "unconfirmed", because the given information was not backed up by German sources. See: <http://www.berschauer.com/Genealogy/Accounts/germany.html>

⁸ Places in Kurpfalz from where first settlers originated, come up once each, except for Darmstadt that is mentioned twice. Other towns are: Dieburg, Frelmasen, Otenheim, Schreisheim, Erbach, Engheim, Kunel.

⁹ <http://www.berschauer.com/Genealogy/Accounts/germany.html>

unknown.¹⁰ The settlers of Holstein came from Württemberg, Sweden, Saxony, and Darmstadt.¹¹

A century later, some Holstein natives moved to the newly founded (1855) daughter colony of Eckheim.¹²



Map 2. Linguistic Map of Volga German mother colonies by Georg Dinges, 1925.

Other families that settled in Eckheim¹³ came from Müller, Mühlberg (Sherbakovka), Galka, Kraft, Schwab, Dobrinka, Grimm, Messer.¹⁴

¹⁰ According to the Register of Colonists from 1769, the total of settlers in Pochinnaya (Kratzke) comprised 34 families, including 67 males and 60 females. (<http://www.berschauer.com/Genealogy/Statistics/brenthst.html>)

¹¹ <http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/holstein.htm>

¹² Founder of the website *wolgadeutsche.net* and author of several articles about the Volga Germans Alexander Spack compiled a table called *Daughter Colonies* (http://wolgadeutsche.net/history/tabl_tochterkolonien.htm) where he states that Eckheim was founded by settlers from Pochinnaya (Kratzke). However, this statement is not confirmed by other sources.

1.1.2 Homogeneity of the settlements

Ripley claims that each Volga German settlement was homogeneous in three ways: religion, place of origin (*landesmannschaftliche Herkunft*) and dialect (212). Religion was indeed the major factor that was taken into account when settlements were organized. One of the privileges promised to the colonists by Catherine II was freedom of religion, so the decree of February 19, 1764 proclaimed that districts on the Volga had to be organized based on the faith of their inhabitants “to avoid any hatred that often arises among members of different religious groups” (cited in: Pleve 119). Some claim that this requirement was implemented in the majority of cases (Pleve 130), whereas others insist that “it took several decades ... until Catholics and Protestants moved into colonies according to their religion” (Dietz 83). Later, this tradition of religiously homogeneous settlements was continued when Volga Germans moved to the Western hemisphere.

Ripley’s claim about the homogeneity of the place of origin and the dialect should be given a more precise look. The lists of the first settlers suggest that each mother colony consisted of people who originated in different German territories. Dietz mentions that place of origin was regarded even less than a person’s religion when the colonies were first created: “a Dutchmen was put together with a Swiss, a Bavarian with a Prussian, a German from the South with a

¹³ The data provided on this forum was taken from an extract of census in 1858 and provides last names and mother colonies of the settlers of Eckheim: <http://wolgadeutschen.borda.ru/?1-19-0-00000017-000-0-0-1283760787>

¹⁴ Here is a quick overview of other villages, whose inhabitants formed a new community in Eckheim: **Müller** (Mühlberg, Miller, Krestovyi Buerak; founded in 1767 by emigrants from Isenburg, Darmstadt, Saxony, and Hannover), **Mühlberg** (Sherbakovka; 1765; Würtemberg, Durlach, Hessen-Darmstadt), **Galka** (1764; Saxony, Sweden, Darmstadt, Durlach, Würtemberg), **Holstein** (1767; Würtemberg, Sweden, Saxony, and Darmstadt), **Kraft** (1767; Walden, Darmstadt, Ottenwald, Isenburg), **Schwab** (1767; Hessen-Darmstadt, Isenburg, Hamburg, Ottenwald), **Dobrinka** (1764; Würtemberg, Darmstadt, Ottenwald, Heidelberg, Zweibrücken Isenburg), **Grimm** (1767; Saxony, Würtemberg, Hessen-Darmstadt, Switzerland, Königsberg), **Messer** (1766; Pfalz, Prussia, Hessen). Information was taken from pages devoted to these colonies on wolgadeutsche.ru: <http://wolgadeutsche.net/list/mueller.htm>, <http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/muehlberg.htm>, <http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/kraft.htm>, <http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/schwab.htm>, http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/dobrinka_kolonie.htm, http://wolgadeutsche.ru/list/grimm_kolonie.htm

German from the North, and all Germans lived next to Frenchmen, Poles, and Finns” (83). Accordingly, the dialects spoken in each colony had to undergo some changes before they formed into an idiom. Linguistic homogeneity of speech islands is “a rare phenomenon” (Rosenberg 5), and Volga German settlements were no exception in that regard. Rosenberg notes that in case of Volga German villages, “several dialect varieties coexisted and persisted for a long time” in one village, which “has set in motion several waves of convergence starting from the very first moment of their existence” (Rosenberg 7).

1.1.3 Immigration to the United States

Discontented with their life in Germany, numerous colonists preferred Russia over other destinations often because of the attractive offers made by the Czarina, which included interest free loans, exemption from the military service, freedom of religion, self-government in colonies, tax exemption for the first five to thirty years, and other financial benefits. However, these privileges were revoked a century later when geo-political changes of the nineteenth century caused the Russian government to undertake steps aiming at the Russification of non-Russian ethnic groups. Large scale German settlements were sprinkled around the Empire (in the Baltic countries, the Crimea, and the Volga region) presenting security concerns to the authorities, since just more than one million Germans lived in Russia at the time when Germany announced its unification in 1871 (Dizendorf 28),¹⁵ and about half of them situated on the Volga River. Russification policies not only targeted the dominant position of the German language in schools

¹⁵ According to the unofficial statistics, 1,028,238 Germans lived in Russian territories in 1875. Twenty two years later (1897), the very first census of the Russian Empire showed that Germans represented 1,4% of Russian population and totaled at 1,790,489 people.

and administrative institutions,¹⁶ but mainly aimed at revoking all benefits that Germans had been enjoying for more than a century. Abolishment of self-government in colonies (1871) and the introduction of the military draft to the German community (1874) spurred massive emigration of the Volga Germans to the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Paraguay.

In 1913, Henry Bender, one of the first settlers of Milberger, wrote an article for the local newspaper where he addressed another issue that forced this particular group of Volga Germans to seek a better life on another continent. He complained that the Russian government set unfair prices for unfarmed land so that colonists “were precluded from ever, in a lifetime, owning a homestead.” According to his report, a male person in Russia was allowed to own not more than six acres of land; any additional acres could be rented for \$4.00-\$5.00 or bought for 30-40 rubles per acre.¹⁷ In Kansas, for comparison, the Bender family became owners of 80 acres of land that they bought from poorer colonists for \$5.00 per acre.¹⁸

1.2. Lutheran Volga Germans in Western Kansas

High land prices in Russia and the new initiatives of Alexander II were the two main reasons why Germans that eventually found themselves in Western Kansas left their homes in the

¹⁶ Some argue that the introduction of the Russian language at schools was not seen as a bad change by the Germans. Due to lack of financial resources, the government’s goal was to improve the language skills of ethnic non-Russians, and not to fully replace one language by another (Duke 754).

¹⁷ It is hard to find information about the exact currency exchange rates for dollar and ruble in the 1860s. The following website states that 1 ruble was worth from \$0.52 to \$0.80: <http://www.cyberussr.com/hcunn/gold-std.html#russia>.

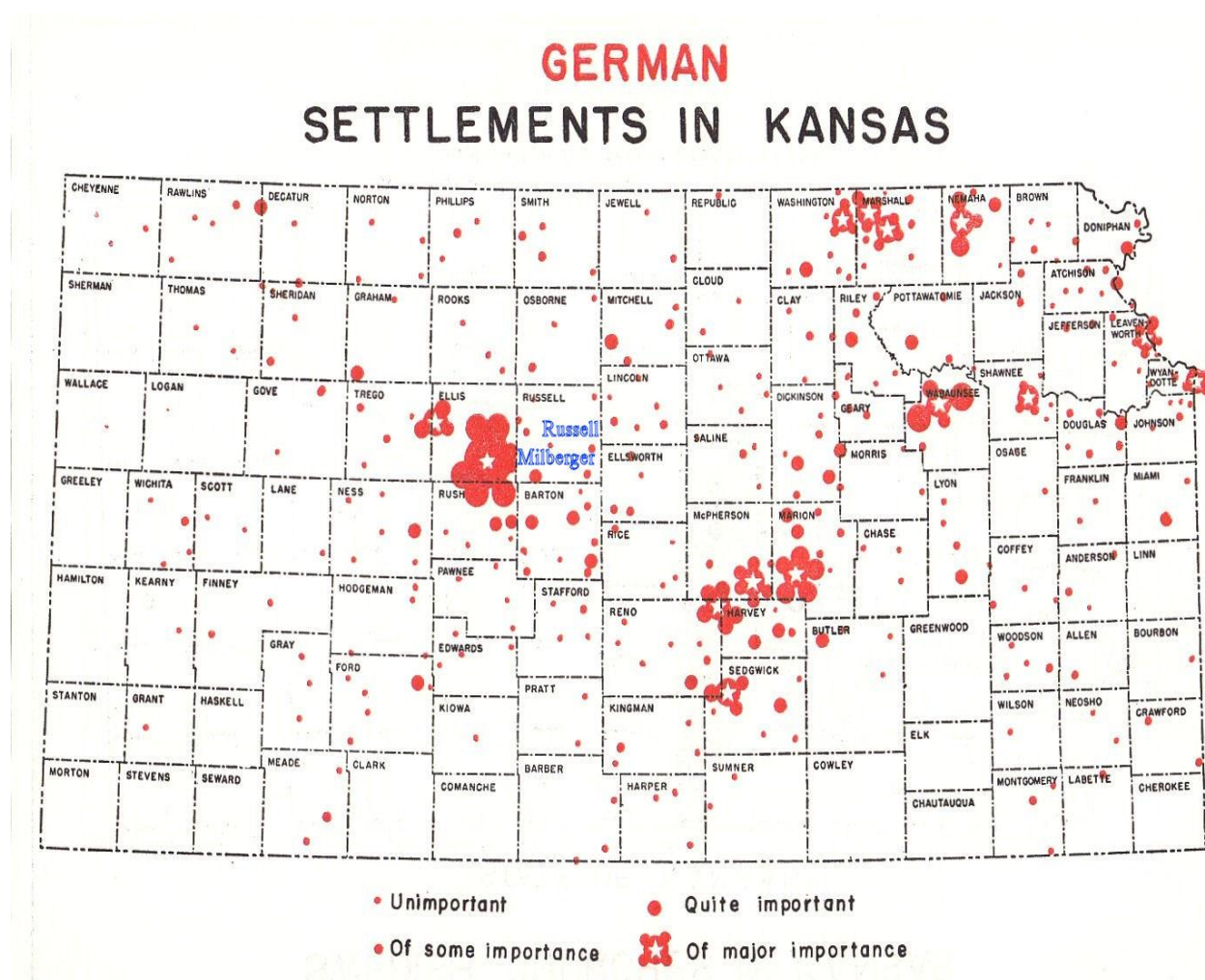
A person answering the posted question on another website suggests an “unconfirmed” rate of \$1 to 3.26 rubles: <http://answers.google.com/answers/threadview?id=27416>.

¹⁸ His article was published in a local newspaper on August 23, 1913. Later, it was translated into English by J.C. Ruppenthal in 1914 with the title *The First Settlement of German Russian colonists from the Volga River, Russia*. A typed copy of this translation was provided to me by one of the informants; it is also available in Carman’s unpublished papers (folder on Milberger) and was published in *The Dietz Family Book 2 by Mrs. Ethel Lock, Copyright 1992 Mrs. Ethel Lock, Ulysses, Kansas, page 16-17*.

Russian steppe. Occasional migration from the Volga to the United States started in 1848, but the numbers of settlers drastically increased in the mid 1870s, following the conscription decree issued by the Russian government.

1.2.1 History of settlements

Subjects of this study were born and raised in the Lutheran community of Russell and Barton counties,¹⁹ in and around the original settlement of Milberger, a town located in the southwest corner of Russell County, thirteen miles south of I-70.

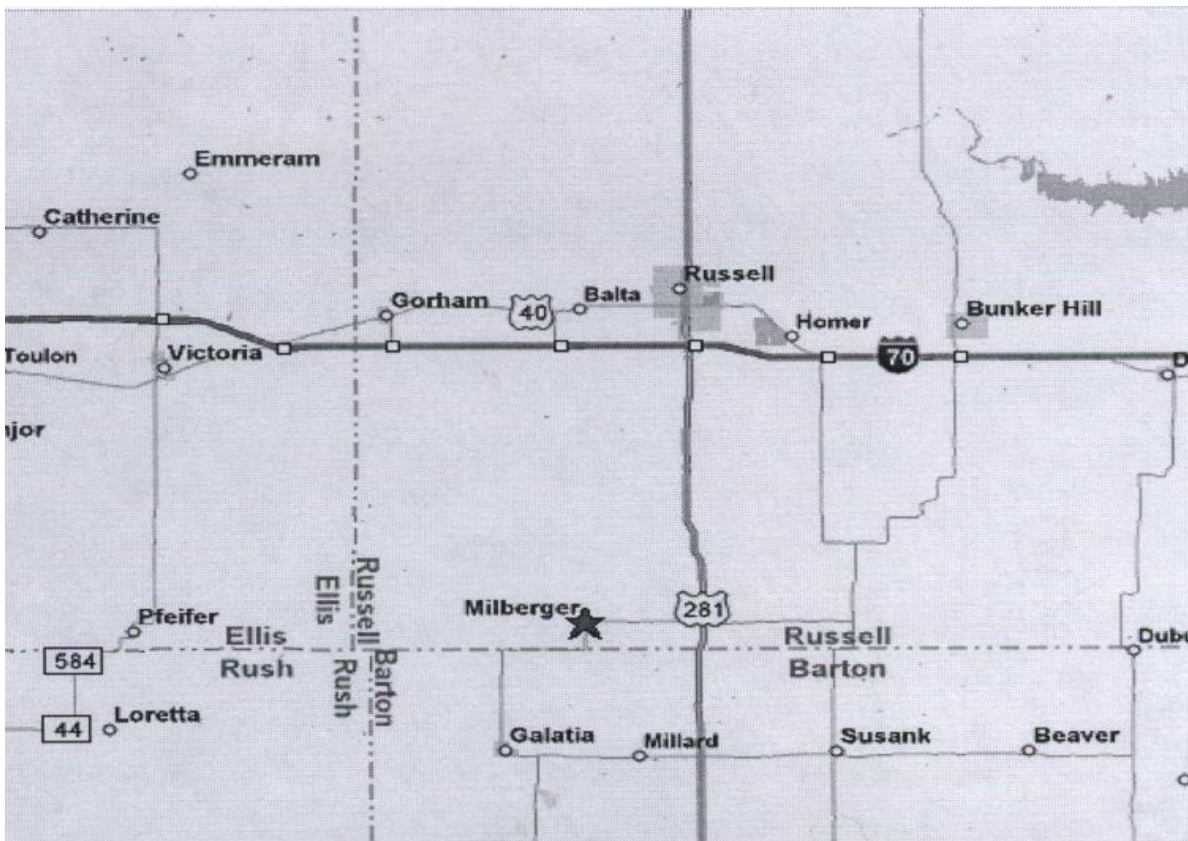


Map 3. German Settlements in Kansas (Carman, 1962).

¹⁹ Two subjects were born in Galatia (the Northern part of Barton County).

As indicated on map 3, these Lutheran settlements are situated very close to the considerably larger Catholic Volga-German communities in Ellis and Rush Counties that have been investigated at the University of Kansas by Keel and Johnson.

It also illustrates that in the 1960s Milberger was a “quite important” Volga German settlement, whereas Russell was labeled by Carman as “unimportant.”



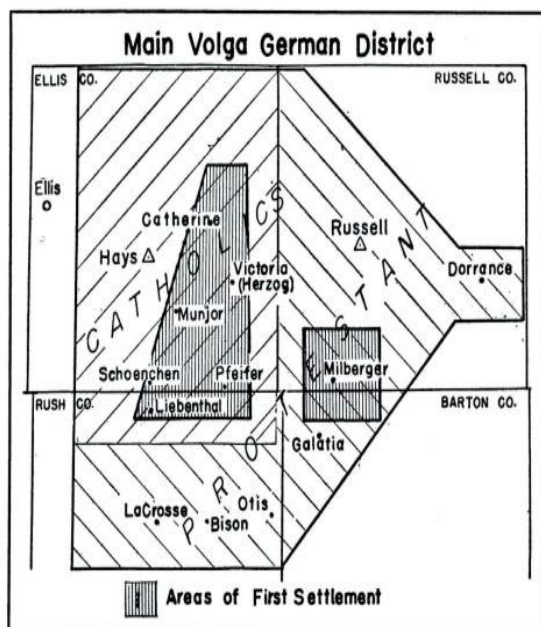
Map 4. Location of Milberger and Russell.²⁰

Indeed, the town of Russell was founded in 1871 by Irish emigrants, thus Germans were not the primary group that inhabited this town. However, according to one questionnaire²¹ found in Carman’s unpublished papers, a 21 year old non-German University of Kansas student from

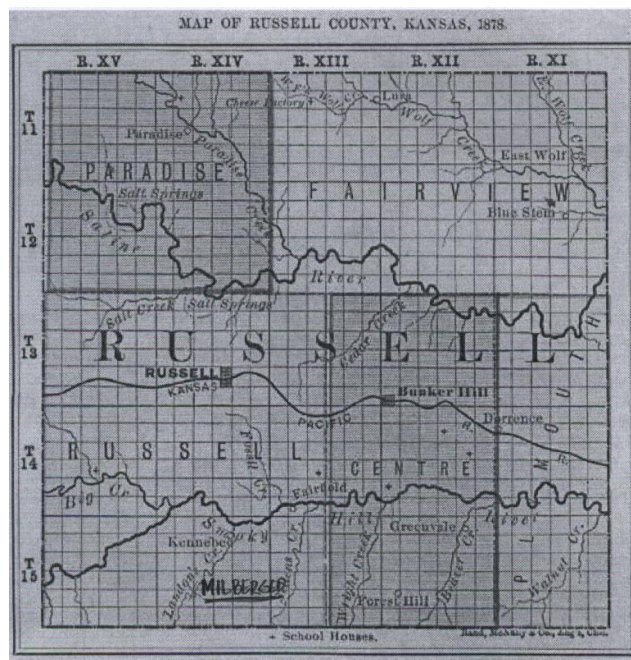
²⁰<http://www.mapquest.com/maps/map.adp?searchtype=address&country=US&addtohistory=&searchtab=home&formtype=address&popflag=0&latitude=&longitude=&name=&phone=&level=&cat=&address=&city=milberger&state=ks&zipcode=>

²¹ Folder on Russell.

Russell describes the number of “German-Russians” in their community as “big” when presented a multiple choice of “big”, “medium” and “small.” On the other hand, the topics discussed and names encountered in *The Russell Record* suggest that the German community was not targeted as a specific audience of this local newspaper. In fact, Volga Germans were not even mentioned in history reviews published in *The Russell Record* during the town’s anniversaries in 1951, 1961, and 1971.



Map 5. The Volga German Enclave in Kansas (Carman 1962).



Map 6. Russell County, Kansas, 1878.²²

Milberger, on the other hand, was founded as a German colony that had no other ethnic groups living in it for the first few decades. The history of this Lutheran community in Russell County started in 1876, when three men from the village of Kratzke (Pochinnaya) decided to leave for the United States on July 12 to scout out the land before moving their families to the unknown country. Traveling through Saratov, Hamburg, and New York, they finally arrived in Kansas

²² <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1878/russell.shtml>

City from where they were first taken to Nebraska. Unhappy with conditions there, the committee was further driven by an agent from Lawrence to the land eleven miles south of Russell where 72 people from Kratzke eventually settled on October 5, 1876. Thus, the new Lutheran Volga German settlement, that later was named Milberger, appeared on the map.²³

Three further “waves of emigrants” followed the first settlers within the next two years: one more group arrived from Kratzke and two groups came from Eckheim.²⁴ Among those who came from Eckheim was a person whose name was given to this place. Both Sallet and Dies Roth suggest that town was named after “one of the first settlers from Eckheim” (Sallet 35), more specifically after the owner of the only post office in town, Charles Milberger (Dies Roth 7).

After having to live in dugouts for a while, the Volga Germans gradually managed to build a settlement that included “four school districts” and prospered by doing what they knew how to do best – farming.

1.2.2 Milberger and Russell in the twenty-first century

As discussed previously, the town of Russell was not considered an important Volga German settlement, since a group of Volga German settlers joined a much larger Irish community and subsequently had to merge with the larger group. Nowadays, most Volga Germans who were interviewed for this study live in Russell, to where they relocated from Milberger and other neighboring towns and farms upon their retirement. According to the census of 2000, Russell has a population of approximately 4,700 people.

²³ Information about the first settlers was shared by Henry Bender in his article (1913) and by Jacob Krug in the interview he gave to Judge Ruppenthal (1904).

²⁴ According to the census data, in 1880 the County’s Russia-born population numbered 350; whereas by 1910 it grew to 1,108 people. There is no exact data available on how this number divided between Milberger, Russell, Bunker Hill, Dorrance, and other Volga German settlements in Russell County.
See: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>.

The following Google map (map 7) and picture 1 demonstrate graphically what remained of a once quite significant German colony of Milberger. At the crossroads, one can find several buildings that belong to one family (called *Radke Implement* on this Google map): a restaurant called *Milberger Lodge*, a couple of industrial storage places used for a small tractor business, and several homes.



Map 7. Milberger zoomed in on google.maps.com

The total number of people living in Milberger does not exceed ten, when one counts younger family members who might stay there over the weekends to run the restaurant for the church members.



Picture 1: Milberger, KS in 2010.²⁵



Picture 2: Local restaurant *Milberger Lodge*.²⁶

²⁵Picture was taken on August 14, 2010 by a blogger.

http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_vbMo7BINTZM/TGntzO4nFyI/AAAAAAAAACG8/6SLEBINp2PY/s1600/g3201014AugMilbergerKS.jpg

The United Emmanuel Lutheran Church, established in 1885, is situated about five minutes drive north from the area described above. Its average c was reported to be 49 people,²⁷ most of whom are Volga Germans who used to live in this area and who have gone to this church every weekend since their childhood.



Pictures 3-7. New United Emmanuel Lutheran Church.²⁸

²⁶ Picture taken in May 2007.

²⁷ As reported by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America
<http://www.elca.org/ScriptLib/RE/Trendnet/cdsTrendNet.asp?Id=A69D9FAA95>

²⁸ Pictures were taken in May 2007.

Some informants now living in Russell reported that they drive here every Sunday and do not want to abandon their congregation for other churches that are located much closer to where they live.

The Milberger cemetery is located on the same road as the Church, but south from the Radke Implements (map 7).





Pictures 8-14. Milberger cemetery.²⁹

All gravestones there have German names on them and most inscriptions are in German. Death dates range from the late 1800's up to the late 1990's, even though late years of death are rare.

1.3 Conclusion

German immigration to the Russian Empire was spurred by attractive benefits promised by Catherine the Great. The practice of settling the newcoming immigrants with no regard to their origin set in motion processes of linguistic conversion that provided language researchers with data for analysis for many years to come. Implications that this practice had on the dialect in question will be discussed in 2.3.

²⁹ Pictures taken in May 2007.

When the Russian government decided to revoke Catherine's promises a century later, thousands of German settlers started a new journey to another continent. They discovered that life in America provided numerous benefits for them and their families, so more and more Volga Germans followed the example of the pioneers.

In Milberger, settlers from the mother colonies of Kratzke and Holstein and from the daughter colony of Eckheim built a community where Germans continued to enjoy the lifestyle similar to what they were used to on the Volga. They created a relatively closed community network where their dialect was used as the only means of communication. They built schools where children were educated in their native dialect and organized churches where services were only provided in German. However, due to various reasons that will be discussed in 3.2.2, this network collapsed, so that a once "quite important" settlement of Milberger virtually disappeared from the map.

CHAPTER 2. Linguistic Profile of the Milberger Dialect

This chapter will provide a linguistic description of the dialect in question. Parts 1 and 2 will explore its phonological and morphological structure, whereas in part 3, I will compare the phonological and morphological features of the Milberger dialect with data from Wenker sentences translated by speakers from Kratzke and Holstein in the 1920s. This analysis will give an overview of similarities and deviations that are exhibited by the three dialects.

Further discussion will introduce approaches used for the *Heimatbestimmung* of a dialect, and finally, I will compare the Milberger dialect in its current state with its possible area of origin in Germany.

2.1. Phonology

The description of consonants and vowels below is based on a perceptive analysis. A more insightful computer-based approach was used only when certain sounds needed a closer examination due to a difficulty in their determination by ear.

2.1.1 Consonantism

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops								
voiceless	p			t		k		
voiced	b			d		g		
Fricatives								
voiceless		f		s	ʃ ç	x		h
voiced		v		z	ʒ	ɣ		
Affricates								
voiceless				ts	tʃ			
Nasals	m			n				
Liquid				l			ŋ	
Trill				r				
Approximant					j			

Changes in the consonants of the Milberger dialect are generally consistent with those attributed to the Rhine-Franconian group of dialects. Below, I will show the consonant developments in the dialect in question starting with the Second Sound Shift that provides a basis for the most general division into Low German, Middle German and Upper German. Further major phenomena to discuss – lenition (incl. spirantization) and assimilation – will provide more insight into the possible origin of this dialect.

2.1.1.1 Second Sound Shift

Examples provided below show the Middle German character of the Milberger dialect.

Spirantization of the WG /p/ occurs finally after a vowel and/or after liquids: *dorf* (*Dorf* – “village”), *saif* (*Seife* – “soap”), *uf* (*auf* – “up; on”). In intervocalic position, WG /p/ is reflected as a voiced labio-dental fricative /v/: *geschlowe* (*geschlafen* – “slept”), *pewwer* (*Pfeffer* – “pepper”). The Russell dialect reflects no shift of the West-Germanic /p/ to the corresponding Old High German (OHG) affricate /pf/ in any position: *paif* (*Pfeife* – “pipe”), *pewwer* (*Pfeffer* – “pepper”), *punt* (*Pfund* – “pound”), *pon* (*Pfanne* – “pan”), *kopp* (*Kopf* – “head”). The unshifted geminate -pp- that occurs medially in intervocalic position is accompanied by lenition: *äbbl* (*Äpfel* – “apples”). The only exception that does not fit into this description is the word *ferd* (*Pferd* – “horse”) that some speakers pronounced with a shifted spirant.

West Germanic /t/ in initial and final position after a consonant is shifted to the corresponding affricate /ts/: *zwai* (*zwei* – “two”), *zait* (*Zeiten* – “times”), *herz* (*Herz* – “heart”), *salz* (*Salz* – “salt”). Medially and finally after a vowel, WG /t/ reflects a shift to /s/: *wasser* (*Wasser* – “water”), *essen* (*essen* – “to eat”), *fis* (*Füße* – “feet”).

The dialect also reflects the sound shift of the WG /k/ to the OHG /hh/ (/x/, /ɣ/, /ç/): *mache* - /ma:ɣə/ (*machen* – “to make”), *gebroche* - /gəbroɣə/ (*gebrochen* – “broken”), *kuche* /ku:ɣə/ (*Kuchen* – “cake”), *ich* /iç/ (*ich* – “I”).

2.1.1.2 Lenition.

Very common for Middle German dialects is the lenition of certain consonants with a tendency towards voicing in all positions:

- initially: *due* (*tun* – “to do”), *dochter* (*Tochter* – “daughter”), *disch* (*Tisch* – “table”), *glani*, *glo* (*kleine*, *klein* – “small”);
- medially in intervocalic position: *besser* (*besser* – “better”); *owe* (*Ofen* – “oven”), *gude* (*gute* – “good”), *rode* - (*rote* – ‘red’), *pewwer* (*Pfeffer* – “pepper”); *woche* (“woche” – “week”), *gebroche* (“gebrochen” – “broken”);
- in other positions: *winder* (*Winter* - “winter”), *kälder* (*kälter* – “colder”).

However, the process of lenition is inconsistent, especially with the initial consonants that may differ even in speech of the same informant: *tot* or *dot* (*tot* – “dead”), *tisch* or *disch* (*Tisch* – “table”). No lenition occurs word-finally: *tot* (*tot* – “dead”), *kraut* (*Kraut* – “cabbage”).

2.1.1.3 Spirantization of voiced stops

Apart from the instances of spirantization discussed with the Second Sound Shift, a few more consonants undergo this type of change in the Milberger dialect. In intervocalic position, the West Germanic velar stop /g/ is reflected by the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ after back vowels: /na:ɣə/ (*Nagel* - ‘nail’), /ku:ɣə/ (*Kugel* – “bullet”), /a:ɣə/ (*Auge* – “eye”), /fo:ɣə/ (*Vogel* – “bird”), /sa:ɣə/ (*sagen* – “to say”) or a palatal /ç/ after front vowels: /fɛçəl/ (*Vögel* – “birds”),

/meçliç/ (*möglich* – “possible”), /reçəɾə/ (*regnen* – “to rain”), /jeçtəɾə/ (*jagen* – “to hunt”), /biçə/ (*bügeln* – “to iron”). In medial position after a liquid or intervocalically, the approximant /j/ or voiceless spirant /ç/ can occur: *morje* or *morjet* (*Morgen* – “morning”), /švi:jəɾ/ or /švi:çəɾ/ (*Schwieger* – “in-law”).

In final position after a front vowel or a liquid, /g/ is reflected as a voiceless palatal fricative: /berç/, /berçe/ (*Berg* – “mountain”), /špi:ltsoiç/ (*Spielzeug* – “toy”). After back vowels, it either is devoiced or reflects as a voiceless velar: /montak/ or /montax/ (*Montag* – “Monday”).

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ intervocalically or after a liquid is also reflected as a spirant in Milberger dialect: /li:vəɾ/ (*lieber* – “dear”), /kštorvə/ (*gestorben* – “died”), /o:vənt/ (*Abend* – “evening”), /tšvi:vəl/ (*Zwiebel* – “onion”).

2.1.1.4 Assimilation.

The assimilatory processes include palatalization and assimilation of stops and nasals. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in the sound combination *-st* is always palatalized after *-r-*: *ersch*t (*erst* – “first”), *äversch*t (*die Obersten* – “authorities”), *bärsch*t (*Bürste* – “brush”), *wursch*t (*Wurst* – “sausage”). In 2nd person singular, it can be realized either as *-st* or as *-sch*t, depending on the informant: *du host*, *du bist* or *du hoscht*, *du bischt* (*du hast*, *du bist* – “you have, you are”). Some words reflect a palatalized *-sch* in an environment other than post-liquid: *kisch*t (*Kiste* – “chest box”).³⁰

Most speakers used assimilation in words with the medial consonant combination *-rd-*: *werre* (*werden* – “to become”), *worre* (*geworden* – “become”).

³⁰ It was produced by the informant who did not palatalize personal endings of the verbs.

In the “resonant + obstruent” combinations such as *-nd/-nt-*, the second part is assimilated: *finne* (*finden* – “to find”), *hinne*, *hinnich* (*da hinten*, *hinten* “behind”), *kfunne* (*gefunden* “found”), *verschtunne* (*verstanden* “understood”), *un* (*und* - “and”).

In intervocalic position, the nasal may be dropped: *dorschtak* (*Donnerstag* - “Thursday”).

Four examples in my data showed an unusual development, when not only the obstruent in the *-nd-* combination was lost, but also a nasal was either partially assimilated through a slight nasalization of the vowel or lost completely, when nasalization can neither be clearly heard, nor can a nasalization formant be clearly detected on the oscillogram. To my knowledge, this phenomenon is not found in any German dialect. Zhirmunski (1956, 353) discusses numerous instances of the loss of a nasal in all German dialects, including Hessian (for example that the nasal is dropped in Hessian before *-s*, *-d*, *-ts* and after *-a*), but he does not mention a loss of “nasal+obstruent” combination either in Hessian, or in any other dialect. Without having a background in practical phonetics, I asked Prof. Allard Jongman from the University of Kansas and Olga Bolotova (MA in phonetics from the University of Saint Petersburg, Russia) for assistance in determining if nasalization that I did not hear was visible on an oscillogram. They both confirmed after analyzing the sound files with PRAAT, independently from each other, that most realizations of the words discussed below show no nasalization, whereas some have a slight nasalization of the vowel (e.g., oscillogram showed something that “looks like a formant of nasalization”).

This phenomenon occurred in speech of Informant 1 after the short vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /ʊ/ followed by a “nasal+stop+trill” combination: /*ker*/-/*kɪr*/ or /*kẽr*/-/*kĩr*/ (*Kinder* “children”), /*ʃter*/ or /*ʃtẽr*/ (*Ständer* “barrel”), /*ur*/ *unter* (“under”; this word occurred in the sentence *die sonne geht ur* (“the sun goes down”) as well as in the word *urdas* (*Untertasse* - “saucer”), and in the

preposition *hichem boum* (*hinter dem Baum* (*hinnich dem Baum*) – “behind the tree”). Informant 2 who is Informant 1’s cousin, had a more clearly heard nasalization in /kẽr/ and /tẽr/, but again no clear nasal. However, this assimilative change did not affect the word *länder* (*Länder* “countries”) that has a clear /n/ pronounced by Informant 1 whose pronunciation of all four words above showed from very slight to no nasalization. The reason for this can be a lesser frequency of this word in the speech: the informant could have only encountered it in the environment outside of the dialect, for example, during the Bible studies in Sunday school or later in life while traveling to Germany.

The same speaker, when asked to translate a sentence “My neighbor’s children live in a different country,” produced a sentence with a self-correction of a High German /kindr/ to the dialectal /kir/: *mai nochborskindr... kir... die wohne in a... im andere lont*. This indicates that both words are known to the speaker, but the second word is perceived as one closer to the dialect.

2.1.2 Vocalism

The vowel system of the Russell dialect consists of the following monophthongs: /a:/, /a/, /ã/, /o:/, /ɔ/, /õ/, /u:/, /ʊ/, /ũ/, /i:/, /i/, /e:/, /ɛ:/, /æ/ and the two diphthongs: /au/, /ai/. Rounded front vowels as they are known in Standard German, do not exist.

		Front Unrounded	Mid Unrounded	Back Unrounded	Rounded
High	Tense	i:			u:
	Lax	i			ʊ, ù
Mid	Tense	e	ə		o:
	Lax	ɛ:			ɔ, õ
Low	Tense	æ		a:	
	Lax			a, ã	
Diphthongs		ai, au			

When describing the vowel inventory of the Russell dialect, I will refer to the Middle High German (MHG) vowel system as a basis for comparison. The main vowel changes that took place in the 12th-16th centuries and created a base for the German dialect division are: a. diphthongization of MHG \bar{i} , \bar{u} , iu into NHG ei , au , oi ; b. monophthongization of MHG ie , uo , $üe$ to i :, u :, y :, and c. raising of MHG diphthongs ei , ou to NHG ai , au .

In the Milberger dialect, the long \bar{i} and \bar{u} are reflected as $/ai/$ and $/au/$ respectively: *zait* (*Zeit* - “time”), *main* (*mein* - “my”), *laip* (*Leib* - “stomach”), *glaich* (*gleich* - “like”), *schnaje* (*schneien* - “to snow”), *ais* (*Eis* - “ice”); *haus* (*Haus* - “house”); *braune* (*braune* - “brown”); *baue* (*bauen* - “to build”); *draus* (*draußen* - “outside”), *gaul* (*Gaul* - “horse”). However, *uf* (*auf* - “on top of”) has not been diphthongized. MHG iu is realized as ai : *lait* (*Leute* - “people”), *daitsch* (*Deutsch* - “German”), *faier* (*Feuer* - “fire”), *haiser* (*Häuser* - “houses”). Some words have a less open first element of the diphthong ($/ei/$): *freint* (*Freund* - “friend”), *beim* (*Bäume* - “trees”).

Similar to Standard German, MHG diphthongs ie and uo reflect in the dialect as monophthongs i : and u :, respectively: *liewer* (*lieber* - “dear”), *wieder* (*wieder* - “again”); *gute* (*gute* - “good”), *bruder* (*Bruder* - “brother”), *due* (*tun* - “to do”). Since the dialect does not have rounded front vowels, MHG $üe$ reflects as a front upper i : *fis* (*Füße* - “feet”), *misse* (*müssen* - “to have to”).

Change in the diphthong ei goes two ways: mostly, it is monophthongized into a long a : *glani* (*kleine* - “little”), *klader* (*Kleider* - “dresses”), *ha:s* (*heiß* - “hot”), *saf* (*Seife* - “soap”), *gehase* (*geheißen* - “called”), *ich wa:s* (*ich weiß* - “I know”), *flasch* (*Fleisch* - “meat”).³¹ As Zhirmunski notes (1956, 219), a “transitional diphthongial element” can appear, if the vowel is followed by a palatal consonant or if it occurs before a vowel. This can be seen in one example, where ei raises to ai : *aier* (*Eier* - “eggs”).

³¹ The word “meat” can be realized with a diphthong or with a long vowel, even in the speech of the same speaker.

The MHG *ou* reflects as a long *a*: *gla:be* (*glaube* - “(I) believe”), *fra:* (*Frau* - “woman”); *a:* (*auch* - “also”); *verka:we* (*verkaufen* - “to sell”), *a:che* (*Augen* - “eyes”). However, the past participle of *laufen* appears as *apgelo:we* (*abgelaufen* - “walked off”), and *boum* (*Baum* - “tree”) is another word that does not reflect this shift.

As mentioned above, the umlauted back vowels do not occur in the dialect in question; they reflect as front unrounded *i* and *ε/e*: *zurik* (*zurück* - “back; ago”), *frier* (*früher* - “earlier”), *mi:d* (*müde* - “tired”), *mist* (*müsste* - “would have to”), *schtik* (*Stück* - “piece”), *finf* (*fünf* - “five”), *bri:der* (*Brüder* - “brothers”); *bärscht* (*Bürste* - “brush”); *sche:ni* (*schöne* - “pretty”), *fechel* (*Vögel* - “birds”), *zwelf* (*zwölf* - “twelve”), *bes* (*böse* - “mean”), *lewwel* (*Löffel* - “spoon”), *mechlich* (*möglich* - “possible”), *gre:sser* (*größer* - “bigger”) .

Short MHG vowels *i* and *u* are inconsistently raised to *e* and *o*, respectively: *ker* (*Kinder* - “children”), *kerch* (*Kirche* - “church”) ³²; *dorschtich* (*durstig* - “thirsty”), *worscht* (*Wurst* - “sausage”), *sonne* (*Sonne* - “sun”). But some words (mostly past participles) preserve the old low vowel: *kumme* (*gekommen* - “come”), *kschwumme* (*geschwommen* - “swum”), *knumme* (*genommmen* - “taken”).

Long *a* is often rounded and backed to *o* which is common for most Upper German dialects (Zhirmunski 1956, 200). In Hessian dialects, according to Zhirmunski (226), such lowering occurs only when the vowel is lengthened, e.g. it reflects the old long */a:/:* *johr* (*Jahr* - “year”), *hoore* (*Haare* - “hair”), *owent* (*Abend* - “evening”), but *gast* (*Gast* - “guest”), *wasser* (*Wasser* - “water”).

³²³² According to Schirmunski, South Hessian shows a sporadic raise of *i* to *e* in a limited amount of words (1956:234)

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Verb Phrase

Verbs in Russell dialect show the traditional classification in strong, weak, and preterito-presential groups. Their patterns are similar to the group of German dialects that include Hessian and Palatinate, however some developments observed in conjugation of basic verbs deserve a special examination.

2.2.1.1 Infinitive

Data from the Milberger dialect displays two types of periphrastic models that employ infinitive: infinitive constructions with and without the particle *zu*. Another distinguished group of infinitives includes the substantivated forms.

zu+Infinitive group	<i>Tu die kohle in owe sodas die mil<u>ich</u> bal ānfānge due zu ko<u>che</u>.</i> Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.
------------------------	---

Periphrastic constructions without <i>zu</i> :	<i>Ich muss mein <u>coat</u> hole.</i>
--	---

I have to take my coat.

*Wo willste **higehe**?*

Where do you want to go?

*Das wet bal ufhere **schneje**.*

It will soon stop snowing.

*All die lait sin draos hait im feld un due **mähe**.*

All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.

*Wenn ich ain buch von russland **kawe** mist zum lese, dāt i sa: du mist
des buch **kawe**.*

If I had to buy any Russian book to read, I would recommend this one
to you.

*Ich will des niemals wieder **due**.*

I don't want to do it ever again.

Substantivated
infinitives:

*Da hot gemocht alswo die den bedient hätte for de **wazdräsche**.*

He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing.

*Wenn ich ain buch von russland kawē mist zum **lese**, dät i sa: du mist
des buch kawē.*

If I had to buy any Russian book to read, I would recommend this one
to you.

*Du bist net gross genuk zum **weindringe**.*

You aren't big enough to drink wine.

When informant 1 had to translate an infinitive presented to her in English, she added the particle *zu* (*zum*) to the basic form of some German verbs, whereas she skipped the particle when naming several other infinitives:

basic form: *zum graische* ("to yell"); *zum fliehe* "to fly";
zum schiese ("to shoot"); *zum helwe* ("to help")
zu nehme ("to take"), *zu schtehle* ("to steel")

blaiben ("to stay"), *finne* ("to find"), *falle* ("to fall"), *lawe* ("to
run")

Infinitive forms of *hun* and *gain* are exceptional; however some speakers employ such forms as *habe* or *habn* and *saie* in periphrastic constructions, thus leveling out the differences exhibited by these traditionally irregular verbs:

basic form: *Ich will morje dort **saie**.* I will be there tomorrow.

*Ihr werret net froh **saie** drum.* You all will regret it.

*Ich muss es **habn**.* I have to have it.

The verb *sa*: (to say) was the only contracted infinitive occurred in the data:

*Sie wollte's ihr tochter auch **sa**:*

She wanted to tell it to her daughter, too.

As exemplified above, the majority of verbs in the three major groups (strong, weak, preterito-presentia) show loss of the final *-n*, a feature typical for Rhine-Franconian dialects.

Occurrence of the infinitive forms that do not undergo the ending reduction can be attributed either to the speakers' exposure to Standard German at church or to competitive forms used by those who came to this settlement speaking a different dialect:

Infinitive
ending *-en*

*Main bruder will sich zwai schene naje haser **bauen**.*

My brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses

*Wir missn **wartn** auf ihn.* We have to wait for him.

*Ich mag des gerne **habn**.* I would like to get it.

2.2.1.2 Strong verbs

The verb classes are distinguished by the form of their past participle. Past participles of strong verbs form by adding a *schwa* and the *ge-* prefix to a stem that often shows a vowel alternation.

The contrasts between present tense stem and the past participle stem occurring in the Russell dialect reflect the traditional Ablaut series:

Class I	<i>blaibn</i>	“remain”	<i>gebliebe</i>	“remained”
	<i>grai<u>s</u>che</i>	“to yell”	<i>gegr<u>i</u>sche</i>	“yelled”
Class II	<i>flieje</i>	“to fly”	<i>k<u>f</u>loh</i>	“flown”
	<i>schie<u>s</u>e</i>	“to shoot”	<i>kscho<u>s</u>se</i>	“shot”
Class III	<i>finne</i>	“to find”	<i>k<u>f</u>unne</i>	“found”
	<i>helwe</i>	“to help”	<i>kholwe</i>	“helped”
Class IV	<i>schtehle</i>	“to steal”	<i>kschtohle</i>	“stolen”

	<i>nehme</i>	“to take”	<i>gnomme</i>	“taken”
Class V	<i>le<u>s</u>e</i>	“to read”	<i>gele<u>s</u>e</i>	“read”
	<i>gebe</i>	“to give”	<i>gebe</i>	“given”
	<i><u>s</u>ehe</i>	“to see”	<i>k<u>s</u>ehe</i>	“seen”
Class VI	<i>fahre</i>	“to drive”	<i>kfahre</i>	“driven”
	<i>wä<u>s</u>che</i>	“to wash”	<i>gewä<u>s</u>che</i>	“washed”
Class VII	<i>falle</i>	“to fall”	<i>kfalle</i>	“fallen”
	<i>lawe</i>	“to run”	<i>gelowe</i>	“run”
	<i>blo<u>s</u>e</i>	“to blow”	<i>geblo<u>s</u>e</i>	“blown”

Verbs that traditionally exhibit stem vowel alternation in present singular and in imperative are leveled out in Russell dialect: *du helfst, der helft, helf!* (“you help, he helps, help!”); *du gebst, er gebt, geb!* (“you give, he gives, give!”); *du sehst, der seht* (“you see, he sees”); *du schlofst, der schloft* (“you sleep, he sleeps”).

2.2.1.2.1 Past Participle

The prefix *ge-* of all past participles is often realized as a syncopated voiceless *k-* before voiceless fricatives or an *h*: *kfalle* (“fallen”), *kfunne* (“found”), *kfahre* (“driven”), *kschtohle* (“stolen”), *kschlowe* (“slept”) *kfloge* (“flown”); *gebroche* (“broken”), *apgelowe* (“walked off”), *geleje* (“lain”), *gebliebe* (“stayed”). Several participles exhibit no prefix: *kumme* (“come”), *gebe* (“given”), *gānge* (“gone”), *worre* (“become”).

Forms with a dropped *-n* are typical for the South Hessian area, as shown in Appendix 9, Map 2. Participles that evidence the preserved *-n* were occasionally produced by informants who otherwise consistently used the weakened form:

*Wenn ich viel geld **gewonnen** hätt ...* (“If I won a lot of money...”).

In several cases, the dialect speakers had to initiate a self-correction that immediately followed the “trouble-source” utterance, e.g., the utterance containing this form. This indirectly points out at the speaker’s perception of such forms as “wrong.”

2.2.1.3 Weak verbs

To form a past participle, all weak verbs use the prefix *ge-/k-* and the dental suffix *-t/d* (*ksat* “said”, *gelernt* “learned”, *geka:wt* “bought”, *gemocht* “made”, *wollde* “wanted to”). The traditionally irregular weak verbs *kennen* (“to know”) and *brennen* (“to burn”) do not exhibit the vowel alternation in the past participle: *gekennt* or *kenne* (“known”), *gebrennt* (“burned”), whereas two other irregular weak verbs, *denken* (“to think”) and *bringen* (“to bring”), occur in alternated forms - *gedocht* (“thought”) and *gebrought* (“brought”).

Both, verbs with separable and inseparable prefixes, mainly follow the patterns of NHG when affixing the *ge-*: Verbs with separable prefixes insert it between the stem and the other prefix: (*abgelowe* – “walked off”, *abgebrennt* – “burned”), whereas it is omitted in the verbs with inseparable prefixes (*bedient* – “hired”, *verzählt* – “told”). Unlike the standard German, weak verbs that end in *-ieren* do add the prefix: *kschtudiert*. Past participles of *kriegen* (“to get”) - *kriet* (“got”) and of *fragen* (“to ask”) - *frot* (“asked”) omit the prefix *ge-*.

2.2.1.4 Preterito-presentia

The vowel alternation is preserved in the conjugation of the preterito-present verbs *wisse* (“to know”), *misse* (“to have to”), *wolle* (“to want to”), *derwe* (“to be allowed to”), and *kenne* (“to be able to”):

<i>wisse</i>		<i>misse</i>	
<i>ich wa:s</i>	<i>mir wisse</i>	<i>ich muss</i>	<i>mir misse</i>
<i>du wa:st</i>	<i>ihr wisst</i>	<i>du musst</i>	<i>ihr misst</i>
<i>der wa:s</i>	<i>die wisse</i>	<i>der muss</i>	<i>die misse</i>

<i>kenne</i>		<i>derwe</i>	
<i>ich kann</i>	<i>mir kenn(e)</i>	<i>ich darf</i>	<i>mir derwe</i>
<i>du kannst</i>	<i>ihr kennt</i>	<i>du darfst</i>	<i>ihr derft</i>
<i>der kann</i>	<i>die kenn(e)</i>	<i>der darf</i>	<i>die derwe</i>

<i>wolle</i>	
<i>ich will</i>	<i>mir wolle</i>
<i>du will(st)</i>	<i>ihr wollt</i>
<i>der will</i>	<i>die wolle</i>

The only preterito-presential verb that exhibits no vowel gradation is *solle*: *ich soll* - *mir solle* (“I am supposed to - we are supposed to”).

The 2nd person singular of *wolle* can omit the personal ending, as shown in the following examples:

<i>Will du mid uns gehe?</i>	Do you want to come with us?
<i>Will du des ganze ding here?</i>	Do you want to hear the whole story?
<i>Wo will du higehe?</i>	(“Where do you want to go?”)
<i>Was will du?</i>	What do you want?”)

2.2.1.5. Verbs *haben*, *sein*, *tun*

The most common infinitive of the verb to “have” in Milberger dialect is the contracted verb *hun*. Next to it, two competing infinitives, *habe*³³ and *hab(e)n*, often occur in the data. Plural shows umlauted forms throughout the conjugation, whereas in singular umlaut appears in the 1st and the 3rd person as a variant:

<i>hun</i>	
<i>ich hun / hebb / hab</i>	<i>mir hun / hen</i>
<i>du host</i>	<i>ihr het</i>
<i>der hot / het</i>	<i>die hun / hen</i>

Map 3 (Appendix 9) places *hun* into Central Hessian and the Palatinate area, but also the form with /o/ that is utilized in South Hessian is close by the vowel quality to *hun*. The conjugated forms (shown on maps 4-7, Appendix 9) suggest the South Hessian roots of this verb: *du host* (South Hessian) and *du hoscht* (Palatinate), *ihr het* (South Hessian) and *ihr hun* (Palatinate) or *ihr hot* (Central Hessian). The map presenting the 1st person singular shows that the linguistic border that went directly through Darmstadt and divided this area between *ich hon* and *ich h b*, is probably the reason why the alternation of these forms is still alive in the Milberger dialect.

³³ Subject of this study who translated “I want to have it” as *ich will’s gern hun* and remarked “*in daitisch s’hen ks t* “*ich will habe*” *un mir hen ks t* “*ich will hun*” (in German we/they said *ich will habe*, and we said *ich will hun*), occasionally referred to infinitives *habe* and *haben*.

The conjugation of *sein* does not show drastic deviations from the standard German paradigm, except for the loss of the final consonants in the 3rd person singular and the 1st and the 3rd person plural:

“sain”/“saie – to be

<i>ich bin</i>	<i>mir <u>s</u>in</i>
<i>du bist</i>	<i>ihr <u>s</u>ai(t)</i>
<i>der is</i>	<i>die <u>s</u>in</i>

Map 8 (Appendix 9) shows again that the South Hessian area was divided between the forms *ich sein* and *ich bin*. However, no evidence of existing variations is present in the data from Russell. The verb *due* (“to do”) follows the pattern of a regular conjugation and is widely used in periphrastic constructions with other verbs.

due

<i>ich due</i>	<i>mir due</i>
<i>du dus(t)</i>	<i>ihr dut</i>
<i>der dut (s)</i>	<i>die due /du</i>

As shown in (Keel 2004, 230), periphrastic *due* is used to express or describe habitual actions, action that is about to start (inchoative aspect), commands, actions in process (durative aspect), enumeration (iterative aspect), or if a particular word in the sentence needs to be emphasized (emphatic aspect). Following examples of the periphrastic *due* were found in the data from Russell County:

a. expressing habitual actions:

*Der **dut** imma sain aijer eesse mitaus salz und pewwer.*

He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.

b. describing an action in progress:

*All die lait sin draos hait im feld un **due** mähe.*

All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.

*Wenn ich wusste was du schwätze **täste** von...*

If I knew what you are talking about...

c. commands:

***Du** dain sak auf de disch schtelle!*

Put you bag on the table!

d. action that is supposed to begin:

*Tu di kohle in owe sodas di milich bal anfrage **due** zu koche.*

Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.

*Da muss ma so laut graische oder **dät ma** des net verschtehe.³⁴*

One must shout loudly, otherwise they will not understand us.

2.2.1.6 Personal Endings - Present Indicative

Both weak and strong non-preterito-presential verbs show the following set of endings: The 1st person singular exhibits the *e*-apocope: *ich glab* (“I believe”), *ich schlag* (“I am going to hit”).

The 2nd person singular shows both a non-palatalized *-st* and a palatalized *-scht*: *du braochst* (“you need”), *du gehscht* (“you go”). The *-r* in the verbs stems often triggers palatalisation of the dental fricative to *-scht*: *du farscht* “du fährst” (you are driving). The 3rd person singular and the

³⁴ In examples b2 and d2, *due* is used in a subjunctive form

2nd person plural are consistent with the Standard German endings: *der mocht* (“he is doing”); *ihr (alle) helft* (“you all are helping”). The 1st and the 3rd person plural exhibit the loss of the final *-n*: *mir helwe* (“we help”); *die helwe* (“they help”). These endings are summarized in the tables below:

Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1. Ø	-e	1. ich helf/ braoch	1. mir helwe/ braoche
2. -st /-scht	-t	2. du helfst/ braochst	2. ihr alle helft/ braocht
3. -t	-e	3. der helft/ braocht	3. die helwe/ braoche

The preterito-present class of verbs exhibits a deviation from the general pattern in the 3rd person singular:

	Sg	Pl
1.	Ø	-e
2.	-st	-t
3.	Ø	-e

Sg	1. ich <u>s</u> oll	Pl	1. mir <u>s</u> olle
	2. du <u>s</u> ollst		2. ihr alle <u>s</u> ollt
	3. der <u>s</u> oll		3. die <u>s</u> olle

Verbs *misse* (to have to) and *wisse* (to know) have the same set of endings with the exception of the 2nd person singular where no additional *-s* is affixed to the stem:

Sg	1. ich muss	Pl	1. mir mi <u>s</u> se
	2. du musst		2. ihr misst
	3. der muss		3. die mi <u>s</u> se

2.2.1.7 Tense and Aspect

The category of the verb tense is realized as a distinction between past and non-past. The Present tense indicative is expressed by using a verb stem (with or without a vowel alternation) and an appropriate personal ending (as discussed above).

Future tense can be expressed by different means:

1. with the present indicative in adjuncton with the adverbs of time:

Ich du es so grell wie mechlich. I will do it as soon as possible.

2. with the verb *wolle*:

Ich will morje dort sain. I will be there tomorrow.

3. with the verb *due*, often accompanied by appropriate adverbs of time:

Das tut bal ufhere zu schneje und no wett des weddr bessr.
It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.

4. with the verb *werre*:

Des werrt bal ufhere schneje un no wett des weddr bessr.
It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.

Ich werr net froh saie drum. I will not be happy about it.

The conjugation of *werre* exhibits three variations in the 3rd person singular and a predictable change in the 2nd person singular:

***werre* – to become**

<i>ich werr</i>	<i>mir werre</i>
<i>du werrsch</i>	<i>ihr werrt</i>
<i>der werre / wett / werrt</i>	<i>die werre</i>

2.2.1.7.1 Past tense

Only a small number of verbs form their past tense synthetically. These verbs include the preterito-presential group (*durft, musst, sollt, wollt, kunnt, wusst*) and auxiliaries *hun* and *gain* (*hatte/hadde, war*). Other instances of a simple past tense are rare. The preterito-presential verbs show the following set of personal endings following the dental suffix (-t/-d-):

Sg	Pl
Ø / -e	-e
-st	Ø / -e
Ø / -e	-e

wolle – to want to

ich wollt (wollde)	mir wollde
du woll(t)st	ihr wollt
der wollt (wollde)	die wollde

könne – to be able to

ich kunnt	mir kunnde
du kunnst	ihr kunnd(e)
der kunnt	die kunnde

wisse – to know

ich wusst/wist	mir wusste
du wusst	ihr wusst
der wusst	die wusste

misse – to have to

ich musst	mir misst(e)
du musst	ihr misst
der musst	die misst(e)

derwe – to be allowed

ich durft(e)	mir all durfte
du durfst	ihr durft
der durft(e)	die durfte

solle – to be supposed to

ich sollt	mir sollte (sollde)
du sollst	ihr sollt
der sollt	die sollte (sollde)

For the past tense, *war* takes the pattern of conjugation of the modal verbs in present indicative, whereas *hatte/hadde* utilizes the same *schwa* for all persons but the 2nd person singular:

<i>war</i> “was”		<i>hadde</i> “had”	
ich war	mir warr(e)	ich hadde	mir hadde
du warst/warscht	ihr wart	du haddst	ihr hadde
der war	die warre	der hadd(e)	die hadde

Three instances of a main verb in a synthetic past form could be found. To recall an anecdote, informant referred to the simple past form of *sa*:

*When we went downtown, dann **sagt** ich mol: ich muss mein coat hole.*

When we went downtown then I said, I have to take my coat.

Another subject translated a Wenker sentence employing a simple past form *fuhr*:

*Ich **fuhr** mit dene leute iber das feld wo das wazenfeld war.*

I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.

To conjugate the verb *stehen* in the past, one informant did it two-ways: once using the auxiliary *hun* (*hun kschtonne*) throughout the conjugation and another time employing both synthetical and analytical forms next to two different past participles, all in one paradigm:

<i>ich hun kschtonne</i>	<i>mir schtund</i>
<i>du schtundst</i>	<i>ihr alle schtand</i>
<i>der schtand</i>	<i>die hen all geschtande</i>

All other verbs form their past tense by employing the auxiliary verbs *hun* or *sain* and the past participle. The choice of the auxiliary corresponds generally with the rules applied in modern German:

Ich hob dir en brief kschickt gestert. I sent a letter to you yesterday.

Er ist geschtorbn vier oder seks woche zurik’. He died four or six weeks ago.

Ich war in sctor gōnge. I went to the store.

The same pattern was used for sentences expressing an action that preceeded another action in the past (past perfect tense):

Wie sie mit der mann geschwätzt hot, da hen sie gaul gekaoft.

After she had talked to her husband, they bought a horse.

2.2.1.7.2 Mood

All three moods (indicative, subjunctive, imperative) are evident in Milberger dialect. Indicative mood, the so called “mood of *realis* context” generally corresponds with indicative. Subjunctive, or “mood of *irrealis* context” describes non-realistic situations or wishes. Historically, verbs had special synthetic subjunctives that have been abandoned and replaced with an analytical construction.

Only auxiliaries and modals have preserved their distinctive present subjunctive forms:

<i>hun</i>		<i><u>sain</u></i>		<i>due</i>	
ich hätt(e)	mir hätt	ich wär(e)	mir wär	ich däd	mir däd
du hässt	ihr hätt	du wärscht	ihr wäre	du däds/täste	ihr däd
der hätt	die hätt	der wär	die wärr	der däd	die däd

Wenn ich reich wär, dann hätt ich viel haüser und viele gardens.

If I were rich, I would have many houses and many gardens.

Wenn du ain court offizier wärscht, da däd ich verklage.

If you were a court officer, I would file a lawsuit.

Present subjunctive of *derwe* and *wolle* corresponds with their simple past forms (*ich durft*; *die wollde*), whereas other modal verbs utilize a distinct subjunctive form (subj. *du misst* – past *du musst*; subj. *ich kennt* – past *ich kunnt*; subj. *ich wisst(e)* – past *ich wusst*):

Wenn ich ain buch von russland kawe mist zum lese, dät i sa: du mist des buch kawe.

If you had to buy any Russian book to read, I would recommend this one to you.

Wonn ich dir helwe kennt, ich däd des. If I could help you, I would do it.

Wenn die bessr ap wär, konnte die en bessr haus krieche.

If they were rich, they could buy a bigger house.

Wenn ich dai schwiechermudder wisst, ich hätte n brief geschriewe.

If I knew your mother-in-law, I would write a letter [to her].

Wonn ich gehe durft, onn dät ma komme.

If I were allowed to go, I would come.

Won die wollde, die konn des due.

If they wanted to, they could do it.

All main verbs in the data follow the Standard German pattern of employing the auxiliary *due* in a subjunctive form together with the infinitive of the main verb:

Wonn du mir helfe däst, da däd ich 'n naje aoto kaowe.

If you helped me, I would buy a new car.

Wenn ich wusste was du schwätze täste von, däd ich dir de antwort gebe.

If I knew what you were talking about, I would give you an answer.

The only main verb that appeared in a synthetic subjunctive form was *gehe*:

Wonn ich nach russland ging, ich däd mai freune un mai ferwonde besuche an de volga fluss. If I went to Russia, I would visit my relatives at the Volga River.

The past subjunctive is created by use of the helping verbs *hun* or *sain* in their subjunctive forms (*hätt(e)* or *wär(e)*) with the past participle of the main verb:

Möcht ich (ihn) bloss bessr gekennt hätte, wär alles viel bessr worre un wär wir all bessr ap. If only I had known him! Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off.

Der hot gemocht als wo die den bedient hätte for de wazdresche...
 He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing...

Wonn ihr's gegliche hätt, hätt mir aich all was gebe.
 If you all would have liked to, we would have given something to you all.

Wenn du nett wärscht, dann hätt ich dir cookies un kuche gebrocht.
 If you were nicer, I would have brought cookies for you.

Wonn main vatter mich geh hätt lasse, onn wär ich kumme.
 If my father had allowed me to go, I would have come.

Just one example could be found, where informant utilized a synthetic subjunctive form of the verb *gehen*, which, however, can also be seen as past subjunctive with the omitted auxiliary:

*Wonn ich nach russland **gänge** wie letzt johr, en wärr ich gänge wo mai freundschaft gewohnt hätt johre zurik.*
 If I had gone to Russia last year, I would have seen where my ancestors lived centuries ago.

The imperative in all three forms is generally formed by dropping the –e of the infinitive. In some cases, the *schwa* is preserved thus making the imperative form an omonym of the infinitive: *blaib!* (stay!), *geh!* (go!), *finn!* (find!), *guck!* (look!), *fahr!* (drive!), *wäsch!* (wash!), *fall!* (fall!), *sai!* (from *zaie/zain*; be!); *graische!* (yell!), *schiesse!* (shoot!).

The verb *flieche* (to fly) forms the imperative by omitting the palatal fricative ç: *flie!* (fly!). The imperative of *sa:* (to say) does not undergo any changes: (*sa:!* - say!). No verbs with the stem vowel alternations were found in the data: *helf!* (help!), *nemm!* (take!), *les!* (read!), *geb!* (give!).

Geh und sai gut und sa: dair schwester sie soll die sache erscht nähe...
 Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother...

The same forms are used for a polite command:

Herr Pastor, helf mir! (Reverent, help me!)
Herr Pastor, schau mal hier! (Reverent, look here!)

The informal plural address does not exhibit the traditional –t but is formed similar to other forms:

Ihr sai net so kinnisch. You (all) may not be so silly.

Bitte helf mir! Guys, help me!

Gucke mol do! Guys, look here!

The negative command can be given either by employing the construction with the periphrastic *due*: *du net lof!* (“do not run!”) or by adding a negation to the imperative form: *fall net!* (“do not fall!”).

2.2.1.7.3 Voice.

Active voice is used more commonly in free conversation, so several informants were presented with additional sentences for translation that contained forms of passive in present, past, and future. However, only past and future passive could be elicited from the additional questionnaire, because all informants transformed sentences with present passive into the active voice.

The future passive is formed with the helping verb *werre* together with the past participle of the main verb followed by the infinitive *werre*:

Der nome werre grell gehert werre. This name will be heard soon.

The examples below show that past passive is expressed by the present indicative of the verb *sain* and the past participle of the verb *werre* (*worre*):

Es is viel ksa:t worre. A lot was said.

Des buch is bai maie mudder gelese worre.
The book is been read by my mother.

Des haos is vernich worr mit schlose un wind.
The house was destroyed by hail and wind.

2.2.2 Noun Phrase

Nouns are traditionally declined for three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) in the singular and plural and are inflected for three cases (nominative, accusative, and dative).

2.2.2.1 Gender and Number

Grammatical gender generally matches that of modern German: *mondl* – “(priest’s) coat”, *mann* – “man”, *kuche* – “cake”, *schneje* – “snow”, *bauer* – “peasant”, *nome* – “name”, *disch* – “table” (masculine nouns); *milich* – “milk”, *fra:* – “woman”, *kschichte* – “story”, *nacht* – “night”, *sunne* – “sun”, *bärscht* – “brush”, *dochter* – “daughter”, *muddr* – “mother”, *wees*, *tande* – “aunt”, *mukk*, *fliche* – “fly”, *hauptsach* – “main thing” (feminine nouns); *weddr* – “weather”, *ais* – “ice”, *fajer* – “fire”, *kind* – “child”, *wort* – “word”, *ding* – “thing”, *feld* – “field”, *kschenk* – “present” (neuter nouns). Borrowings are also assigned the gender: *der/das cake*, *die schtori*, *der coat*, *die car*. The most productive ways to build a plural form of the noun are suffixes *-e*, *-er* and “internal inflexion” (stem vowel alternation):

- a. internal inflexion: *der fuss* – *die fi:s* (“foot – feet”), *die kuh* – *die ki:* (“cow – cows”), *der bruder* – *die gebri:der* (“brother – brothers”), *die schwester* – *die kschwister* (“sister – sisters”), *der gans* – *die gens* (“goose – geese”), *der abbel* – *die äbbl* (“apple – apples”).
- b. suffix *-er*: (with or without the stem vowel alternation) *das ai* – *die ajer* (“egg – eggs”), *das klad* – *die klader* (“dress – dresses”), *das kind* – *die kinnr/kirr* (“child – children”), *das haus* – *die haißer* (“house – houses”);
- c. suffix *-e*: *das sax* – *die saxe* (“thing – things”), *der hund* – *die hunde* (“dog – dogs”), *das johr* – *die johre* (“year – years”), *der freund* – *die freunde* (“friend – friends”), *das ach* – *die ache* (“eye – eyes”).

Only one word could be found in the data that employed the suffix *-en-*: *der oks – die oksen* (“ox – oxen”). Several words did not exhibit any changes in plural: *der schuh – die schuh* (“shoe – shoes”), *der kuche – die kuche* (“cake – cakes”), *das schof – die schof* (“sheep – sheeps”), *die sai – die sai* (“pig – pigs”). Two words were used by different informants with the English plural suffix *-s*: *die äppls* (“apples”), *die schäfs* (“sheep”). The plural of the word *gummer* (“cucumber”) is *gummre*.

2.2.2.2. Case

The category of case has undergone some simplifications: the genitive has disappeared thus reducing the amount of cases to three: the nominative, accusative, and dative. To express possessive relationships, dialect speakers employ constructions with dative: *dem pastor saine fra*: (“priest’s wife”), *des is en brudr zum schene mätche* (“this is a brother of the pretty girl”). However, unlike the dialects of Schoenchen and Victoria (Johnson 53; Keel 2004, 237), the dative case in Russell is distinctively marked in all cases and in plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plur.
Nom.	der / de	die / de	des	die
Acc.	de	die	des/ ’s	die
Dat.	dem / em	der	em	denne /de

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	ain / en	aine / ‘ne /en	ain /en
Acc.	en	‘ne / en	en
Dat.	‘nem	‘ner/e	‘nem

Nouns in the nominative case mostly carry a full form of the definite article, but the weakened form *de* may also occur. Indefinite articles often exhibit a weakened form *en*:

De gude alde mann is durchs ais gebroche...

The good old man broke through the ice...

Der schneje an unser platz war um grund letzten owent...

The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night...

*Wenn der bissje kschaiter wär, wär der **en gudr geschäftsmonn**.*

If he was smarter, he could become a good businessman.

*Tu die kohle in owe sodas **die milich** bal anfange due zu koche.*

Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.

*Des **wort** kommt schtrat von saim herz.*

That word came straight from his heart!

Die bese gens di baise dich tot.

Those mean geese will bite you to death.

*Des is **en schwestr** zum kscheiter jung.*

This is the smart boys' sister.

The articles of feminine and neuter direct objects correspond with articles used for these genders in the nominative case. Masculine direct objects are accompanied by the article *de*. The indefinite article *en* can be used for all genders:

*Wenn die **en auto** hätt, da kennt sie auch waitr gehe.*

If she had a car, she could travel more.

*Das was der pastor hat, **en wormn mondl** bei uns.*

That is what our priest used to have, a long coat.

*Ich was, dad hatt **en whip**. I know, [my] Dad had a whip.*

*Het ihr net **en schtik** saf for mich kfunne...?*

Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on my table?

*Der gude alde mann is **durchs** ais gebroche... un is **ins kalde wasser** kfalle.*

The good old man broke through the ice ... and fell into the cold water.

*Der dud **de schtuhl vors schpiegel**.*

He puts a chair in front of a mirror.

*Ich schlag'r **um die ohre** rum... du aff!*

I am going to hit you around the ears ..., you monkey!

*Ich war mit de lait zurik **iber die schtepp ins samenfeld** kfahre.*

I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.

Possessive adjectives in two examples below did not add any case marker:

*Geh und **sai** gud und **sa**: dair schwestr **si** sollte die **saxe** erscht nähe **for dai mama**...*

Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother...

*Wer hat denn **main korb** of flasch kschtohle?*

Who stole my basket of meat?

Indirect objects surprisingly show distinct case markers (*dem, 'm*) for masculine and neuter nouns. However, those markers are occasionally omitted:

*Der schneje **an unser platz** war um grund...*

The snow at our place stayed on the ground...

In other instances, indirect objects exhibit the appropriate dative ending in a full or a contracted form:

*Ich schlag 'r um die ohre rum **mit nem holzene lewwel**, du af.*

I am going to hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey!

*Het ihr net en schtick **saf** for mich kfunne **an meinem disch**?*

Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on my table?

*Des wort kommt schtrat **von saim herz**.*

That word came straight from his heart!

*All die lait sin draos hait **im feld** un due mähe.*
All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.

*Der schneje an unser platz war **u:m grund** letzten owent...*
The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night.

*Der gude alde mann is durchs ais gebroche **mit saim gaul**...*
The good old man broke through the ice with his horse...

***Wem** hot der da es verzählt? Who did he tell the new story to?*

***Hinnich unsem haos** schtehe drai schene glani äpplbeim mit schene rode äbbl.*
Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apples.

*Er seht en ferd **hich'em boum**. He sees a horse behind a tree.*

*Geh und sai gu:d und sa: **dair schwestr** sie sollde die klader für eure mutter fertich nähen und **mit der bürste** rain mache.*

Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.

*Was for klaine fegel sitze dort dro **on der klaine wont**?*
What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall?

In the neighboring Catholic Volga German dialects researchers have found a tendency for a “prepositional” case (Keel 2004, 236-237). This is partially confirmed by data from Russell County. The weakend article *de* is sometimes used after prepositions:

*Die dāde des sage **von de mensch**.*
Everybody would say this about this person.

*Wonn ich nach russland ging, ich dād mai freune un mai verwonde besuche **an de wolga fluss**.*
If I had gone to Russia last year, I would have seen where my ancestors lived centuries ago.

*Ich war **mit de lait** zurik iber die schtepp ins samenfeld kfahre.*
I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.

*Im windr di drugnili bleddr fliehe rum **in de luft**.*
In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.

However, other data exhibits a clear distinction between dative and accusative cases used after prepositions:

*Er seht en ferd **hich**'em boum.* He sees a horse behind a tree.

*Er dud en flasch **hinnich** de blumenschtock.*
He puts a bottle behind a plant.

*De kirr is **uf**'m disch.* The plate is on the table.

*Du dain kirr **auf** de disch!* Put your plate on the table!

It is quite uncommon for German dialects not to eliminate formal markers of the dative case in the masculine and neuter. Other Volga German dialects in Kansas as well as Pennsylvania German tend to merge the dative and accusative by using accusative forms for both cases (Johnson 53; Keel 2004, 236; Meindl 52-53). A similar development of Volga German dialects spoken in districts of Kamyshin and Tomsk is shown by Frolova (92) and Alexandrov (84). However, one of the texts provided in Appendixes by Baykova (213) showed two examples of dative masculine, one preserving the appropriate marker and one merging with accusative: *met dm fa:te* (*mit dem Vater* – “with father”), but *os n kelxos* (*aus dem Kolchos* – “from a collective farm”).

Older studies indicate that Volga German dialects still had the formal distinction between the dative and accusative for masculine and neuter nouns (Jedig 52, 66-68). The two Hessian-Palatinate dialect samples from the evangelical village of Neu-Weimar (a daughter colony) in the Novo-Usensk district and the Catholic village of Preus in the same district, described by Unwerth³⁵ during WWI (41-44) showed the consistent use of dative markers in all sentences that had examples of it: sentence 4 - *midm gaul, mit dem gaul*; 11 - *midm kochlefl, mit m Kochlöffel*;

³⁵ The sample from Preus was not collected by Unwerth. It was put down by Dinges when he described the dialect of his native village.

26 - *henr unsrm haus, hener unserm haus*; 32 - *uf airm diš, uf mam Tisch*, 33 - *in airm gārde*, but *in eier Garten*³⁶). The third sample of Hessian-Platinian dialects from the evangelical village of Schäfer (Lippowka) in the Novo-Usensk district showed a consistent loss of this marker in all instances: 4 - *min gaul*; 11 - *dr kochseber*; 26 - *hinr unsr haus*; 32 - *uf moi diš*; 33 - *uf sain garde* (Unwerth 39-40).

2.2.3 Prepositions

Prepositions in the Milberger dialect mainly follow the rule for prepositional government used in Standard German (exceptions were presented above):

Accusative: *um* (“around”), *durch* (“through”), *iber* (“over; about”);

Dative: *mit* (“with”), *von* (“about”);

Two-way: *uf/auf* (“on”), *on/an* (“on”), *in* (“in”), *vor* (“in front of”), *hinnich* (“behind”), *ur* (“under”).

2.2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives used as predicatives follow the noun and add no endings: *des weddr is schen* (“the weather is beautiful”), *das fajer war so has* (“the fire was too hot”). Attributive adjectives generally follow a pattern, but show multiple deviations, especially in the strong declination.

Weak declination (adjective following definite articles) generally exhibits a consistent pattern of adding the *-e* in all cases and genders with some alternations:

³⁶ Person who translated it could have perceived this as an accusative case: to build *wohin?*, rather than to build *wo?*.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Pl.
Nom.	-e	-e	-e	-e / -i
Acc.	-e	-e	-e	-e/-i
Dat.	-e	-e / \emptyset	-e/(i)	-e

Nominative: *de gude mann, der braune hund, die schene fra: des schene haus, die bese gens, die drugnili bleddr, die glani äbbl;*

Accusative: *de alte mann, die ganze schtund; des rechte ding; ins kalde wassr; die glani kinnr;*

Dative: *mit dem beste freund, zum wunderschene mätche, zum e glani kind; zum kschajte jung*
(or *zum kschajtr jung*), *on der klane wond, mit der gut berscht;*

As is exemplified above, plural nouns in nominative and accusative exhibit the old ending *-i* that goes back to the forms like MHG *eine guotiu frouwe* and has been weakened to *schwa* in most dialects (Post 119). Post points out that this old ending for feminine singular was preserved in Palatinate (in the Southern area between Pirmasens and Bitsch and in the Eastern part covering Germersheim and Speyer). DIWA does not have a feminine adjective but it provides a map for the word *schöne* (Appendix 9, map 9) used in the plural accusative in Wenker sentence 33 (which is of interest for the *-i* ending found in Russell). The yellow lines on that map stand for the *-i* and can be found in the neighboring East Franconian area but no signs of any places using this ending within the borders of the Hessian dialect can be detected. It is possible that this was one of the features induced by the speakers who came to Milberger from a non-Hessian area.

This unweakened ending was also found in the following sentence: *ich geb en schpielzeuch* (*schpielsax*) *zum e glani kint* (“I give a toy to a little child”). It is not clear whether the phrase “*zum e glani kint*” can be classified as a pure dative since an element that looks like an indefinite

article follows the contracted definite article. This might be a direct translation of the English article as in the phrase “to **a** little child”.

Further examples in phrases containing a preposition contracted with a definite article (*zum*) exhibited more inconsistencies: *ich han en mushroom gebe **zum gschaite** jung* (“I gave a mushroom to a smart boy”) and *des is en schwestr **zum gschaite** jung* (“this is the smart boys’ sister”).

The set of strong endings shows more variations:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Pl.
Nom.	-(e)r	-e	-es/-e / \emptyset	-e
Acc.	-er	-e	-es/-e/ \emptyset	-e
Dat.	-er/e	-er	-es/ \emptyset	-e

Nominative: *en gu:dr kschäftsmann; mein liebes kind, en wunderschene mätche, ne gute fra.;* *en glo kind* (little child);

Accusative: *en bessr haus (kaufe), ein gutes haus kaufe; ich sehe en kschajtr jung; zwei schene naije haisr, klaine fegel; ich sehe gloa kint;*

Dative: *mit nem holzene lewwl; von kschaite kinnr; zu wunderschene mätche; zum kschaite jung, des is n schwestr zum kschaite jung.*

For the neuter nominative noun, three variations were found in the data: -es: *mein liebes kind* (“my dear child”); -e: *en wunderschene mätche* (“a wonderful girl”); \emptyset : *en glo kind* (“little child”).

2.2.5 Pronouns

The paradigm of the personal and possessive pronouns in the Milberger dialect shows distinct forms for the dative in the 3rd person singular:

		Nom.	Akk.	Dat.	
1 st pers.sg.		<i>ich</i>	<i>mich</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>main/mai</i>
2 nd pers.sg.		<i>du</i>	<i>dich</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>dain/dai</i>
3 rd pers.sg.	masc.	<i>der</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i><u>s</u>ain</i>
	fem.	<i>die</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>der/ihr</i>	<i>ihr</i>
	neut.	<i>des/es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i><u>s</u>ain</i>
1 st pers.pl.		<i>wir</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>un<u>s</u>r</i>
2 nd pers.pl.		<i>ihr</i>	<i>a<u>i</u>ch</i>	<i>a<u>i</u>ch</i>	<i>aj<u>e</u>r</i>
3 rd pers.pl.		<i>die</i>	<i>die/sie</i>	-	<i>ihr</i>

Several interrogative pronouns were documented in the data: *wer?* (“who?”), *was* (“what?”), *wem?* (“to whom?”), *warum?* (“why?”), *wo?* (“where?”), *wieviel?* (“how much?”), *wann?* (“when?”), *was fer?* (“what kind of?”).

The reflexive pronoun *sich* appears in translations of the Wenker sentences:

Main bruder will sich zwai schene naije haiser...bauen.
 My brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses.

Du hast dich gut behave-t hait...You were well-behaved...

2.3. Origin of the Milberger dialect

2.3.1 Milberger dialect and dialects of Kratzke and Holstein

Before discussing the German origin of the Milberger dialect, it is important to compare it first with dialects that were spoken in Kratzke and Holstein in order to follow possible changes that could occur in Milberger in the last few decades.³⁷ The following table compares one by one all the words from the Wenker sentences, showing what forms in the Milberger dialect deviate from original.³⁸

Eckheim, as other daughter colonies, does not have many entries in WDSA due to a mixed character of their inhabitants. Blank means that no record of this word is available for this village. The transcription from the WDSA is preserved as it is, whereas the data from Milberger are presented in the same way as throughout this study.

High German	Milberger	Kratzke (#90 in WDSA)	Holstein (#110 in WDSA)	Eckheim (#164 in WDSA)
in	im	-	im	-
Winter	windr	windr	windr	-
herum	rum	-	rom	-
wieder	wiedr	-	widr	-
besser	bessr	-	bezr	-
Ofen	owe	-	ōve	-
Milch	miliç	miliç	miliç	-
an[fängt]	ãn	-	-	-
an[fängt]	fãn	-	fand	-
kochen	koye/koxe	-	koye	-

³⁷ Eckheim was included into the table below, even though data from a daughter colony is less reliable due to its mixed character.

³⁸ Data provided by the Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas.

(der) gute	gude	gūde	gūde	-
Pferd	gaul	gaul	-	-
gebrochen	gebroye	gebroye	gebroye	-
ist	is	is	is	-
vier	vier	-	fīr	-
Wochen	woye	woye	woye	-
gestorben	geschtorwe	-	geštorwe	-
Feuer	fajer	faier	faier, hits	-
heiß	has	hās	hās	hās
Kuchen	kuye	-	kuye	-
isst	est	est	est	-
Eier	ajer	ājr/ājer	ājr/ājer	-
Pfeffer	pewwr	pevr	pevr	-
glaube	glab	glāb	-	-
[durch]gelaufen	gelowe	-	glofe	-
bin	bin	bin	ben	-
der	dr	dr	dr	-
Frau	fra:	frā	frā	-
auch	a:	ax	ax	-
sagen	sa:	sā	sāye	-
Löffel	lewwl	-	šebr	-
wo	wo	-	wu	-
böse	bege	bēze	bēze	-
hast	host/hoscht	hošt	host	-
heute	hait	hait	hait	-
am [meisten]	das	dr	dr	-
[am] meisten	mehrscht	mehrst	mehnst	-
und	un	un	-	-
brav	braf	brāf	-	-
darfst	darfst	därfšt	därfst	-
früher	frieher	ēer	frīer/frījer	-

bist	bist/bischt	bišt	bist	-
Flasche	fla:sch, bedel	bedel	flaš	-
[du] musst	must/muscht	mušt	must	-
Kleider	kla:dr	glādr	glādr	-
Mutter	mudder	modr	modr	-
Bürste	běrscht	-	bāšt	-
rein machen	saiber	-	sauvr	-
hättest	hest	hešt	hest	-
gekannt	gekent	gekənt	gekent	-
anders	arschter	anršt/aneršt	anršt/aneršt	-
Fleisch	fla:sch	flāš	flāš	-
aber	awer	-	awr	-
wem	wem	wem	wem	-
hat	hot	hot	hot	-
erzählt	verzählt	-	frtsēlt	-
man	ma(n)	-	mr	-
wir	mir	-	mer	-
Durst	dorschtiç	-	doršt/došt	-
[sind] gekommen	komme/ kumme	kome	kome	-
sind [gekommen]	šin	sin	sen	-
andern	ondre	anre	anre	-
fest	-	fešt	fəst	-
Schnee	schnee	šnē	šnē	-
Nacht	nacht	naxt	naxt	-
hinter	hiniç	-	hinr	-
gehen	gehe	gê	gē	-
euch	aiç	aiç	aiç	-
eure	aire	-	airi	-
Berge	berge	-	bārje	-
viel	viel	-	fīl	-
höher	hejer	-	hējir	-

Pfund	punt	punt	pont	-
Wurst	wurscht/worscht	woršt	woršt	-
haben	hun	-	hō	-
sprechen	schwätze	schwätzen	-	schwätzen
habt	hed	hed	hed	-
Seife	saf	sāf	sāfe	sāfe
mich	<u>mich</u>	miç	miç	-
gefunden	kfunne	-	gefone	-
Bruder	bruder	brūdr	brūdr	-
sich	<u>sich</u>	-	ziç	-
zwei	zwai	tswā	tswā	-
was	was/wos	wās	was	-
Kühe	ki:	kī	kī	-
Schäfchen	-	šēfçn	šēfirjn	-
Dorf	dorf	-	dorf	-
verkaufen	verkawe	frkāve	frkāve	-
Häuser/ Leute	hai <u>s</u> er/lait	haisr/lait	haisr/lait	-
[dem] Felde	feld	-	felt	-
nichts	niks	-	niks	-
[mit] den [Leuten]	de	dene	dr	-
Augen	a <u>y</u> e	ā <u>y</u> e	ā <u>y</u> e	-
fünfzig	fuf <u>z</u> ig	-	fuftsiç	-
Dienstag	dienstak	dinšdāg	dinsdāg	-
Sonnabend	samstak	samšdāk	samsdāk	-
vierzig	fär <u>z</u> ig	-	färtsiç	-
schlage	schlak	hā	šlāk	-
Nase	nas	nās	nōs	-
Rad	rad	rād	rād	-
Nabel	nawel	nawl	nāgl	-
Nagel	na:ye	nāyl	noxl	-

jagen	jeçtere	jā	jāye	-
mager	ma:yr	māyr	māyr	-
klagen	gla:	glā	glāye	-
gerade	grad	grāḏ	grāḏ	-
Nadel	no:dl	nōdl	nōdl	-
schmal	schmal	šmāl	šmāl	-
kahl	glatt	blot	kāl	-
Name	name	nāme	nāme	-
Zahn	tso:	tsō	tsā	-
Nadel	no:dl	nōdl	nōdl	-

Conclusively, the Milberger dialect preserved most features of the Kratzke and Holstein dialects, as shown below:

Grammatical forms:

1. Past participles of strong verbs show

loss of *-n* at the end:

gebroye, kfunne, gelowe

2. past participles of weak verbs end in a *-t*:

verzählt

3. infinitives show loss of *-n* at the end:

verkawe, sa:, geh, koche

The only exception: *schwätze - schwätzen*.

Consonants:

1. voiced consonants:

gu:de, dassenkop, gla:

2. spirantization of the voiced bilabial stop */b/* after

a vowel or a liquid:

geschtorwe, awer, but saibr

3. voicing of *f* in intervocalic position:

pewwr, owe

4. spirantization of a velar:

woye, gebroye

5. shifted *p* at the end of the word:

dorf, saf

6. Not shifted *p* at the beginning of the word:

punt, pewwr

Vowels and Diphthongs:

1. delabialization of diphthongs:

fajer, hait, lait, aich

3. delabialization of front rounded vowels: *bes, frijer, bäscht, lewwl, hejer*
4. the mhd. diphthong *ou* (nhd.) *au* is monophthongized to a long *a*: *fra:, verkawe, but: abgelowe*
7. mhd. diphthong *ei* becomes either monophthongized into a long *a*: *flasch, has*
or raised to *ai*: *ajer*
8. mhd. diphthong *uo* is monophthongized to a long *u*: *gude, brudr*

Some discrepancies can be observed in vowel quality, such as *kfunne* - *gefone*, *hun* - *hõ*, *wurscht* - *woršt*, forms that are used interchangeably by speakers of the Milberger dialect. Consistent discrepancies come up in the sound combination *st* that was realized as *-scht* in Kratzke, whereas forms without palatalization were common in Holstein. Inconsistencies in use of *st/scht* in the 2nd person singular by Milberger dialect speakers reflect the existence of two competing forms brought to Kansas from different villages.

High German	Milberger	Kratzke (#90 in WDSA)	Holstein (#110 in WDSA)
Consistent use of <i>st</i> or <i>scht</i> in all dialects:			
ist	is	is	is
isst	est	est	est
Bürste	bärscht	-	bäšt
anders	arschter	anršt/aneršt	anršt/aneršt
Durst	dorschtiç	-	doršt/došt
Wurst	wurscht/worscht	woršt	wøšt

The palatalized form appears expectedly after the *r* in all dialects. However, frequently used verbs “to eat” and “to be” in the 3rd person singular do not exhibit palatalization in either dialect.

Competing forms:

[am] meisten	me:rscht	mehrst	mehnst
Dienstag	di:nsta:k	dinšdāg	dinsdāg
Sonnabend	samsta:k	samšdāk	samsdāk
hast	host/hoscht	hošt	host
darfst	darfst	därfšt	därfst
bist	bist/ bischt	bišt	bist
[du] musst	must/muscht	mušt	must
hättest	hest	hešt	hest
fest	-	fešt	fešt

Dinges offered an explanation for the discrepancy in use of palatalized and non-palatalized forms (*bist* and *bischt*) that occurred in his native dialect in the daughter colony of Blumenfeld. He claimed that when such forms are confronting each other during the dialect mixture, those that are closer to the *Schriftsprache* will win, even if the other form belonged to the original dialect of the majority of speakers (14). In the Milberger area, the palatalized forms were more likely going to disappear in the next generations due to the extensive exposure to the Standard language; however, in this last generation of speakers the remnants of palatalized forms are still noticeable. Two additional words from WDSA demonstrate the competing pronunciation of *-scht* and *-st* in some words and show that palatalized forms (*kischt*) may also “win” in a process of a language contact:

High German	Milberger	Kratzke	Holstein
Base, Tante (“aunt”)	we:s, tonde	Weesche, Wēsje	Wees/Wes
Truhe (“chest”)	kischt	Kišt	Kist

Most words used in Kratzke in Holstein prior to emigration were identical or similar, so they are still known to Milberger dialect speakers:

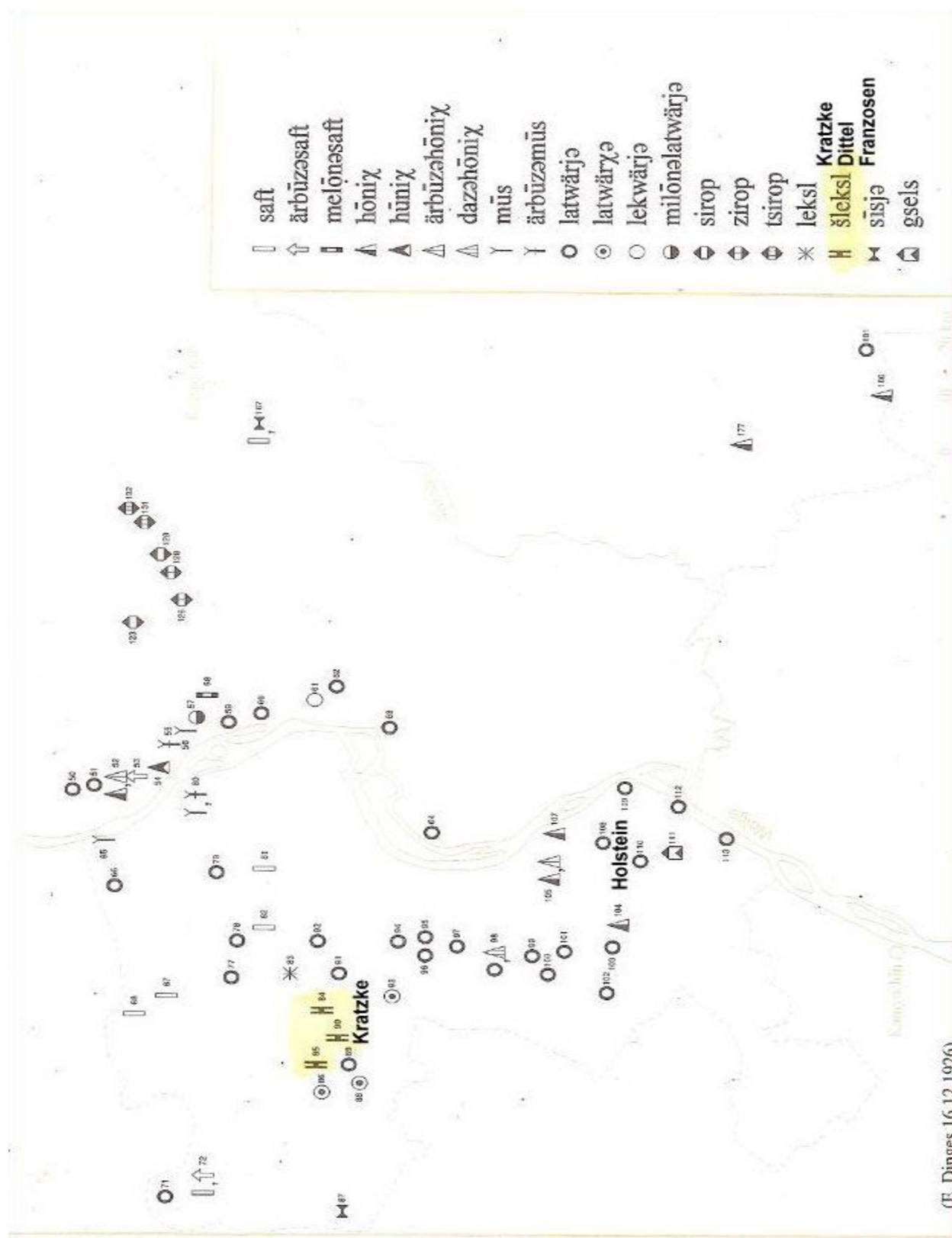
High German	Milberger	Kratzke	Holstein
wählerisch ("choosy")	schnegisch	schnegi(s)ch	schnegi(s)ch vrschneeg(er)t
schaffen ("to work")	schaffe	schaffe	schaffe
russisch ("Russian")	ru <u>sich</u> ru <u>schic</u>	ruschich/ ruschig	ruschich/ ruschig
Zwirn ("yarn")	zwärn	Zwärn	Zwärn
Untertasse ("saucer")	urdass	Unrdass, Onnerdass	Unrdass
Pfanne ("pan")	pan	Pann	Pann
Quark ("curd cheese")	ke:s	Kees/Keeis	Keesmatte

The following table with three lexical items from WDSA demonstrates that in case different words were used in Kratzke and Holstein, one word persisted, while another one disappeared from usage (in bold are words that were adopted into the lexicon of the dialect speakers in Milberger).

High German	Milberger	Kratzke	Holstein
Obertasse("cup")	da <u>s</u> enkopp	Owerkeppche	Dassekopp
Bretterzaun ("fence")	bredderwand	Gefach	Breddrwand
Melonensirup ("water melon preserves/sirup")	schleksel	šleksl	latwärje

The word *Melonensirup* (“water melon syrup”, #219 in WDSA) shows a strong territorial association in the Volga region. The culinary specialty of Volga Germans in Milberger is the so called *schlekselkuche* - a cake with water melon preserves that all families knew how to make. As shown on the WDSA map below (map 8), Kratzke and its two neighbors (Dittel and Franzosen) were the only villages in the whole Volga region that called this syrup *schleksel*.

Generally, the Milberger dialect does not show any significant deviations from the dialects spoken by their ancestors on the Volga. The major inconsistency is in competing use of palatalized and unpalatalized -s- in the sound combination *st* that may be realized differently even in the speech of one and the same informant.



Map 8. WDSA. Map for *Melonensirup*.

2.3.2 Milberger dialect and its origin in Germany.

To find place of origin for a particular German dialect, researchers refer to linguistic maps and with the help of isoglosses compare its phonological, grammatical, and lexical features with other dialects. This approach was used by von Unwerth in his study of the Russian POWs from the Volga during WWI. However, this method was later criticized by the Volga German researchers Dinges and Dulson. They maintained that due to a large number of German dialects that came into contact in each village, one cannot and should not trace the origin of a Volga German individual based on his dialect in its current state (Dinges 1925, 308; Dulson 1941, 82; 88). Dulson proposed several factors that should be taken into account while describing a Volga German dialect of a particular village. First, he notes that ideally one needs to know places of origin of all first settlers of the village (1941, 82), which will provide researchers with the numerical proportion of contacting dialects. Other important factors include the social status of speakers of a certain German dialect in the community, the mass or scattered character of each dialect (*kompakt vertretene Massen oder kleinere Gruppen*),³⁹ the norms of the local colloquial language, people's attitude towards specific linguistic features as well as the standard language, and general trends of language developments (Dulson 85; Berend, Jedig 89-90). Most of the information needed to meet these criteria was available to Dulson during his research on the dialect spoken in his native village of Preuss.

However, this approach is problematic for researchers of the Volga German dialects in America, since settlers of a particular American town could come from different Russian colonies, including the newly formed daughter colonies. For example, Milberger was founded by the Volga German settlers from the mother colonies of Kratzke and Holstein and the daughter

³⁹ Berend, Jedig, 93.


colony of Eckheim in a period of time lasting from 1876 to 1920. Although a list of the original settlers of Kratzke is available (Pleve 302-390), no information can be obtained about the origin of settlers that came to Holstein and Eckheim.⁴⁰ Thus, for the purpose of this study, the approximate origin of the Milberger dialect will be determined based on the information gathered from the subjects of this study and the list of first Kratzke settlers whose descendants eventually found themselves in Milberger.⁴¹ Available sources allow tracing back origin of the informants to the following places: “area around Frankfurt,” Darmstadt, Erbach, Hüffelsheim, Spachbrüchen near Dieburg, Berlin.⁴² Thus, based solely on the available data, the majority of Milberger settlers originated in the area south of Frankfurt.⁴³ Map 9 shows locations of these towns on the map of Germany:

⁴⁰ The complicated nature of the daughter colony of Eckheim is shown in 1.1.1.

⁴¹ Five families in Milberger share their last name with the first settlers of Kratzke, whose origin in Germany is available.

⁴² <http://www.berschauer.com/Genealogy/Accounts/germany.html>

⁴³ Most original inhabitants of Kratzke were from Kurpfalz as well.

Get Directions [My Maps](#)  [Send](#) [Link](#) [Map](#) [Satellite](#) [Earth](#)

A Erbach, Odenwald, Germany

B Darmstadt, Germany

C Hüttelsheim, Germany

D Spachbrücken

E Dieburg, Germany

F Frankfurt, Germany

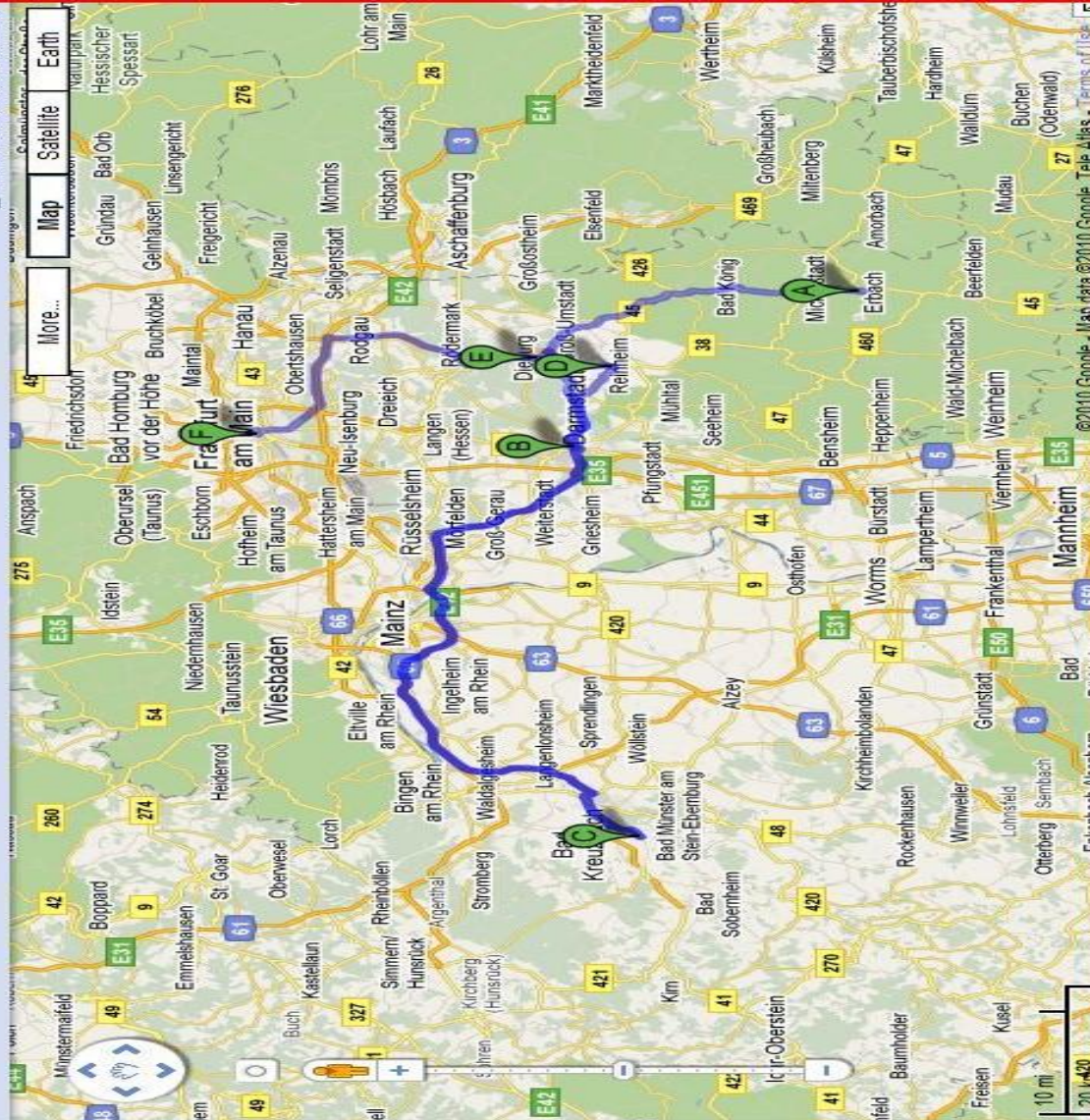
[Add Destination](#) - [Reverse](#) - [Show options](#) [Get Directions](#)

Driving directions to Frankfurt, Germany

B45 and A3
285 km
3 hours 49 mins

A Erbach im Odenwald
Germany

deutschland karte



Map 9. google.com/directions

Zhirmunski points out that most secondary features of Hessian (that he describes on the example of the semi-dialect of Darmstadt) comprise the basis for the Central-Franconian koine that includes Upper Hessian, South Hessian, Palatinate, and South Franconian (1956, 552-555). All these features are common for the Milberger dialect:⁴⁴ monophthongization of diphthongs *ei* and *oi* to a long *a*: (*ha:s* - *heiß* “hot”), delabialization of *ü*, *ö*, *eu* to *i*:, *e*:, *ai* (*fi:s* - *Füße* “feet”, *be:s* - *böse* “mean, evil”, *fajer* - *Feuer* “fire”), spirantization of intervocalic *-b-* and *-g-* (*kschtorve* - *gestorben* “died”, *saye* - *sagen* “to say”), voicing of the old *-f-* in intervocalic position (*schdivel* - *Stiefel* “boots”), unshifted *p* (*b*) medially and finally (*aɓel* - *Äpfel* “apples”, *khob* - *Kopf* “head”), assimilation *nd*>*n* (*fine* - *finden* “to find”, *une unten* “under”), *rs*>*rsch* (*vurscht* - *Wurst* “sausage”), loss of the final *-e* and *-n*, (*fra:ye* - *fragen* “to ask”).

Further, Zhirmunski notes that unlike areas north of Frankfurt and the Odenwald dialects south of Darmstadt, the major part of Upper Hessian, including big city districts of Mainz, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, and Aschaffenburg, show an absence of the primary features of Hessian dialects (553). The same is true for Milberger. Data from Russell County showed **no** presence of the following primary features of Hessian: falling diphthongs (*ie*>*ei*, *üe*>*qi*, *uo*>*ou* - *lieb*>*leib*, *müde*>*mqid*, *guot*>*gout*); raised vowels (*e*:/*ö*:/>*i*: and *o*:/>*u*: - *schne*:/>*schni*: and *to*:/>*du*:/>*d*); non-systematic lowering *i*>*e* (*tisch*>*desch*, *hitze*>*heds*); diphthongization of MHG *e*:/>*ɛ*:/^b (*besen*>*bɛ:ɐse*, *helfen*>*hɛɐlfe*); rhotacism *d*>*r* (*bruder*>*brouer*, *schlitten*>*schlire*); dropping the spirant *-g-* in intervocalic position (*wagen*>*wa:n*, *jagd*>*ja:d*, *vogel*>*fu:l*).

According to Zhirmunski, absence of the primary features in the dialect suggests that one deals with a regional “semi-dialect” that “under pressure of the literary language”, tries to eliminate all primary features that are the main obstacle for understanding speakers of neighboring dialects.

⁴⁴ With the only difference that it does not have vocalization *r*>*ɐ*, as described by Zhirmunski.

The following table based on Rudolf's study (cited in: Zhirmunski 554-555) represents the three stages of differentiation that one can observe when a dialect (in this case, the dialect of Darmstadt) progresses from the lowest stage that is the closest to the basic dialect after it loses all primary features to the third stage that is a local form of literary language. As seen in the following table, the Milberger dialect preserves many features of the first dialectal stage:⁴⁵

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Mil- berger	Milberger- examples
1.	Monophthongization <i>ei, ou > a:</i>			+	<i>ha:s</i> <i>la:ve</i>
2.	Delabialization <i>ö>e, ü>i, eu>ai</i>	+	+(not fully)	+	<i>lewwel</i> <i>fi:s</i> <i>fajer</i>
3.	Labialization <i>a:>ɔ:, a>ɔ̃</i>			+	<i>hot</i>
4.	Raising <i>u>o, i(ü)>e>ɐ</i> <i>foɐxt (Furcht), veɐt (Wirt),</i> <i>feɐxte (fürchten)</i>	no raising before <i>r</i> (<i>fuɐxt, viɐt</i>)	+	+/- ⁴⁶	<i>worscht</i>
5.	Nasalization of the vowel preceding nasals	+	+	+	<i>gãnge,</i> <i>vergõnge</i>
6.	Weak consonants <i>b, d, g, ʃ</i>	+	+	+	
7.	Intervocalic <i>b>w</i>	+		+	<i>liewer</i> <i>kschtorwe</i>
8.	Intervocalic <i>g>spirant (sa:xe-sagen)</i> <i>g>ø (væe,væje-wegen)</i>	<i>g>ç,x</i> (<i>veçe,</i> <i>geçe</i>)	Intervocali- cally and finally: <i>g>x</i>	+	<i>na:yel,</i> <i>schwiejer</i>
9.	Final devoicing: <i>g>k (dåk –</i> <i>Tag)</i>	<i>g>ç,x (dax,</i> <i>væç, kriçt)</i>		+	<i>tak</i>
10.	<i>ç</i> with frontal articulation, close to palatal <i>sch (misch –</i> <i>miç)</i>			-	-

⁴⁵ “+” indicates that this feature was preserved in the dialect at this stage,

⁴⁶ +/- indicates inconsistent use of the feature.

11.	Unshifted <i>p</i>	+		+	<i>punt</i>
12.	Dropping <i>-en</i> in verbs in past participles	+		+	<i>gebroye</i>
13.	Keeping <i>-n</i> after <i>-r</i> (<i>finen</i> – <i>führen</i>)		Dropping <i>r</i> before <i>n</i> , after long vowel, unstressed ending <i>er</i> > <i>ɐ</i>	-	
14.	Prefix <i>an</i> > <i>o:</i> ⁿ	<i>an</i> > <i>a</i> ⁿ		+	<i>ōngefänge</i>

Thus, all features that characterize the Central-Franconian dialectal koine and most features from the base dialect of Darmstadt are common in Milberger dialect. Sporadic use of palatalized ending in the 2nd person singular by some speakers (*du hoscht*, *du bischt*, *du ge:scht*), may come from competing Palatinate forms.

2.4 Conclusion

The consonants in the Milberger dialect exhibit the characteristics that we would expect in a German dialect located in the South Hessian and Palatinate area. Unshifted /*p*/ in initial position and in a medially occurring geminate, a shifted /*p*/ finally after liquids, and a shifted voiceless velar stop clearly place it into the West Middle German area (*punt*, *äbbl*, *dorf*, *machen*). A shift of the final /*t*/ distinguishes it from the Moselfranconian (*was*). The palatalization of the alveolar voiceless spirant (*fest/fescht*) is inconsistent, which can be attributed to an area close to the border of South Hessian and Palatinate.

Many features in both the consonant system and the vowel system are common for South Hessian and Palatinate (second sound shift, spirantization of *b* and *g*, unrounded front vowels, change in MHG *ei* and *ou* to *a*:, lowering of the long *a*:, raising of the long *i*:, etc.)

This conclusion does not imply that all current features that the dialect exhibits prove its origin in a particular area. Dinges (1925, 308) disagreed with the model that based the determination of the origin of a dialect solely on features that it exhibits at the moment of the study. However, this analysis gives a general idea about the place of origin for the Milberger dialect and provides material for comparison.

The peculiarity of this dialect is in its deviation from the general trend to abandon the dative case. The dative is distinctively marked in articles and possessive pronouns (with few exceptions), which could be clearly observed in sentences employing the two-way prepositions.

A possible reason for preservice of the dative case and usage of infinitives and past participles in their full form is the interference from High German (acquired at church and at Sunday school) and speakers' awareness that the way they spoke was "not correct."

Comparison with the Volga German data from the WDSA showed that speakers in Milberger preserved the dialect of the original settlement in Russia with no major deviations. This dialect can be classified as South Hessian based on the four words that Dinges used for a general classification of the Volga-German dialects: *bruder*, *fest*, *waas (ich weiß)*, and *verzählt (=erzählt)* (Dinges 1925, 20).

Information about origin of the first Kratzke settlers, phonological examination and analysis of grammatical forms and lexical items places this dialect into the South Hessian area around Darmstadt.

Surprisingly, the dialect exhibited all features of the original Central Franconian koine, with some newly developed features (assimilation in words *kir*, *stär*, *ur*), but with no significant deviations. It is possible, however, that a dialect close to the Central Franconian koine emerged on the Volga, in circumstances when settlers from different German regions had to form a koine for the sake of better communication. In that case, the newly formed dialect must have followed the mechanism proposed by Zhirmunski: it eliminated primarily features of several dialects, while preserving the secondary features that were understandable for most speakers.

CHAPTER 3. Language contact

The focus of this study is description of a dialect that is surrounded by speakers of another language - a phenomenon that always involves a language contact. The following paragraphs will discuss some of the areas in the language contact studies, including language loss, bilingualism and diglossia, interference and borrowing. I then examine how Milberger dialect fits into the picture of language loss, what types of bilingualism were common for this group of people and how contacts with the Russian and the English language have affected this particular dialect.

3.1 Language contact

The idea of studying the languages that come into contact was introduced by German linguist Hugo Schuchardt and was further developed by neo-grammarians in the 1880s (Hermann Paul). The term that they used – *Sprachmischung* (*language mixture*) – was later criticized due to its ambiguity (Shcherba 60-74; Haugen 80, etc.) and was replaced several decades later through a more neutral *language contact*, as was suggested by Weinreich in 1953. In the simplest definition, “language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (Thomason *Web*, 1). The contacting languages can be studied at three major levels: The socio-linguistic level describes socio-cultural aspects of language existence, including political, economic, historical, and demographic factors; the psycholinguistic approach deals with the effects that contacts might have on mind and character of a bilingual person; and the linguistic aspect looks at changes occurring in the language structure.

Some of the socio-linguistic variables that more closely define the types of language contact in the given area include the following:

1. direct and indirect contacts (the latter occur through literary texts, while the former imply the language acquisition in any natural setting, such as living in a speech island, trip to another country, or classroom acquisition);
2. occasional (temporary) and permanent contacts (these factors depend on the character of the settlement's autonomy and the character of their interactions with the outsiders);
3. marginal and intra-regional contacts (the former occur between relatively isolated groups such as speech island inhabitants and the outsiders, while the latter come about between different ethnic groups living together);
4. contacts of related and unrelated languages (the ones that belong either to the Indo-European family or to a specific branch of it as opposed to those attributed to the Non-Indo-European languages);
5. contacts of languages with different social standings (a pair of languages that are official and equally acknowledged in a given country or a couple that stands at different social levels, such as a dialect or the language of a minority as opposed to a standard language);
6. contacts that result in unilateral or bilateral impacts on different language systems (unilateral or bilateral impact may concern either one or more language system (lexicon, morphology, syntax);
7. the functional type of contacting languages (this includes interactions between a. two different standard/colloquial forms of languages, b. between different dialects of the same or different language/s, and c. between a dialect of one language and a standard/colloquial form of another language).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ This classification was compiled upon classifications used by Nasipov (12) and Frolova (50-54).

Based on these variables, the contact of the Volga German dialect with Russian language could be categorized as a direct, casual, marginal type of contact occurring between non-closely related languages with unequal social standings within the country. The impact of the Russian colloquial language on German dialect was unilateral but insignificant and only affected the lexical level of it. When the Volga German group in question moved to Kansas, at first, just one variable changed - that was (4) the relationship between the languages. With time, starting in the 1940s-1950s,⁴⁸ the character of the language contact gradually transformed into a direct, permanent, intra-regional type occurring between closely related languages with unequal social standings and the unilateral impact of English at several language systems of the German dialect.

The changed socio-linguistic variables lead to the change of the language situation in Milberger from a stable setting of language maintenance to a language decay that eventually will most probably result in a language loss in this area.

Frolova, when assessing the socio-linguistic character of the language contact between standard/colloquial Russian and a German dialect currently spoken in the village of Gebel on the Volga, came up with a profile that was identical to the set of variables that characterize the relationship between the Volga German dialect of Milberger and the English language. However, she maintained that bilingualism and Russian influence would not lead to a drastic language shift on the Lower Volga and predicted that a long-term existence of a bilingual group of people in the researched area was “definitely possible” on the condition that the mass emigration to Germany is reduced (64). In Milberger/Russell, this scenario is rather unlikely, even though the relationships between the Volga German dialect and the dominant language appear to be very similar. It is not uncommon for researchers to conclude that language shifts or language deaths

⁴⁸ Those who moved to the city of Russell instead of Milberger, experienced changes much quicker, since they were exposed to English right from the beginning.

occur in some situations, whereas a stable standing is maintained in another community under the same circumstances. As pointed out by Fishman (122-123; cited in: Boyd 1), “many of the most popularly cited factors purportedly influencing maintenance and shift have actually been found to ‘cut both ways’ in different contexts or to have no general significance when viewed in broader perspective.” Similar views are supported by Boyd (99), and Romaine (1989, 380) who noted that “language contact is a sufficient cause neither for death nor for pidginization and/or creolization. None of the factors mentioned here, separately or together, is an absolute predictor of language death, but they do tend to accompany the situations in which languages are dying.” Further, I will examine what factors accompanied the language decay in Milberger.

3.2 Language loss.

Terms such as “language decay,” “language obsolescence” and “language decline” are mostly used interchangeably to describe early stages of the language development when it starts to show first signs of endangerment. To describe the state of the language that is on its way to a full disappearance, researchers refer to “language loss,” “language death” or “language extinction.” There is no general agreement on when a language can be considered completely “dead.” While some propose that one can speak of a “language death” when it ceases to be used by the community of people as the main means of their communication (Sasse 18), others prefer the traditional view that considers it alive until the last native speaker of this language deceases (Krauss 1).

A widely cited classification by Wurm that distinguishes different levels of language endangerment suggests four stages that precede the complete language loss. Language is *potentially endangered* when children stop learning it from their parents. It is *endangered* if there

are just few child speakers and the youngest speakers are young adults. If the youngest speakers are middle-aged and older this language is *seriously endangered*. The last stage before the language death is when it is *terminally endangered (moribund)* if only elderly speakers are left (cited in: Janse 9). In a similar five level classification, Krauss proposes a slightly different terminology where language progresses from the *unstable (eroded)* period through *definitely endangered*, *severely endangered*, and *critically endangered* levels to its *extinction* (21). Similar to Wurm, the *instability* appears when not all children acquire language from their parents and further, each stage corresponds to a generation that is the main group of language speakers (parents, grandparents, very few great-grandparents).

These schemes, if applied on the Milberger dialect, will show that the stages preceding the language loss in this area are stretched over the period of approximately seventy years. In 1913, Henry Bender wrote that “there are four school districts in this settlement in which there is not one single pupil of English speaking ancestry, and therefore our children cannot learn the English language.” One can assume that WWI might have had some impact on the attitude of the German dialect speakers towards their language in areas that had a closer contact with English speakers, but it appeared not to have drastically affected the inhabitants of Milberger and neighboring small settlements who lived in relatively remote areas. In fact, subjects of this study, who were all born in the 1920s, recall that they knew no English prior to elementary school. A non-German subject from Russell, who was born in 1933 and was interviewed by Carman in 1958, recalled that when he went to school in 1939, “about six children from Russell [were] not able to speak Eng[lish]” when they started school. Only one respondent in my data acquired English at the early age owing to the English teacher from the local school who was renting a room in her family house.

Next, I will approach the socio-linguistic factors that caused the dialect in question to enter the stage of *potential endangerment (instability)* and further discuss the timeline of dialect moving from one level of endangerment to another in context of the social events.

3.2.2 Factors leading to language decay and language loss.

Sasse (10-11) created a model demonstrating the correlation between the three major sets of factors that impact language decay. He proposes that external (social) circumstances have a major impact on people's language behavior and eventually cause structural changes in a particular language.

Sasse calls the major trigger to the processes that lead to language obsolescence *External Setting*, a term that embraces all extralinguistic factors, including cultural, economic, sociolinguistic and other processes "which create, in a certain speech community, a situation of pressure which forces the community to give up its language." *External Setting* provokes changes in *Speech Behavior*, e.g., in the variables such as domains of language use, styles, or attitudes. As a result, the structure of the language can be affected at any linguistic level (phonological, morphological, lexical, or syntactical). Sasse calls this phenomenon *Structural Consequence*.

The way this model works is explained below on the example of the Milberger dialect.

A brief glance back at the sets of socio-linguistic variables that describe a relationship between the Volga Geman dialect and the Russian language and between the Volga German dialect and the English language (3.1) shows that in both situations the dialect was a subordinate language surrounded by the speakers of a dominant language. However, after over hundred and forty years in Russia, the dialect was maintained at the *stable* level, when all children acquired it as their first and often the only native language. It entered the *endangered* zone only when the Russian

government started to put political pressure on foreign settlements. The Volga Germans who did not leave for a better life and had to go through Russification forced from above, started to have more contact induced changes in their dialect. Nevertheless, they were able to maintain a *stable* language situation, when the dialect was still passed on to children.

3.2.3 WWII and its impact.

Similarly, the group of the Volga Germans who left Russia and eventually settled in Milberger was able to maintain the language situation out of the endangerment zone for several decades, until they experienced pressure that, if did not come directly from the government as a set of policies, was still indirectly induced by the political position of the government towards the German speaking people. Some subjects of this study referred to WWII as the main reason why their dialect started on the road to decline. There is no doubt that other social developments played their part in the language decay but WWII was the first significant event that made some Germans in a relatively close community develop a negative view of their own language and possibly made some families cease the transmission of their language to further generations. This shift from the *stable* situation to the first level of endangerment generally corresponds with the *critical year* that Carman set for the settlement of Russell which was 1940.

Subjects recalled that their parents specifically advised them not to speak German while going out in groups, since outsiders identified them with the enemies that their country fought in Europe. Thus, the *social subordination* that had existed all along between the German dialect and the surrounding language of the majority has never interfered with the language transmission or language use in Milberger. A stimulus from the outside produced both *negative attitudes* and *social restrictions*, such as loss of one of the language use domains. Now, Germans of all ages,

including young children, tended to switch to the dominant language in public places, such as schools, markets, or stores. Eventually, it might have helped to develop a habit of speaking English to each other even in private. Starting with the 1940s, the German dialect found itself at the *potentially endangered* stage (*unstable* in Krauss' schema), when less children were acquiring it and young adults (those who were born in the 1920s and in the 1930s) became the last "full" generation that learned the German dialect as their native language.⁴⁹

3.2.4 Time after WWII

After WWII, further social developments made it harder for the dialect to survive. An increased mobility of the population due to the fact that families could afford a car and thus could find a job outside of the German-speaking community made many young people leave their homes. A couple of those who were interviewed by Carman in Russell pointed out that the need to learn and use English increased once oil was discovered there in 1923 which subsequently caused a flow of English-speaking industrial workers to the area.

The constant interactions with English-speaking Americans at work and afterwards not only might have lowered the language skills of Volga Germans but also lead to an increasing number of intermarriages. A couple of female subjects mentioned to me that marriages outside of the community were not possible when they were young and single (e.g., in the 1940s). Their parents would have never allowed them to marry somebody who was not a Lutheran German. The renunciation of this rule brought more non-German speaking members to the Church congregations and resulted eventually in a language shift in Church services.

⁴⁹ I absolutely cannot claim that there were no other families that taught their children to speak the dialect in the 1950s and later. However, based on Carman's notes and on my own interviews, it becomes apparent that less people acquired the dialect in following generations.

One of the Carman's interviewees was pastor Sedo⁵⁰ from St. John's Lutheran in Russell who reported that as of 1967 his church still provided German services that were attended by 75-100 people, with the average attendance of English services by 450 parishioners⁵¹ between 25 and 80 years of age, with men and women in equal numbers.⁵² According to Sedo, all services were conducted in German until 1937, when English was first introduced in church. At the beginning, English was used every other Sunday, until it gradually became the primary language of service. Over half of those who attended German services were reportedly 50 years or older, with the oldest person being 91 years old. Sedo noted that "retired people keep the German going; those [who] moved in from country." He further remarked that old people are "well off and therefore can pay for what they want," even though "their influence is not directly on church government". In Milberger, the church also provided services in German, as can be concluded from Carman's entries from the 1960s:

Rev. Alfred [Winler] serves Milberger at 9:30

Congregation records still in Germ[an]

At quarterly meeting they have discussion largely in German

Kolm, H.A. Rev. When he gets next Sunday to Milberger he is requested to preach in German in morning and Eng[lish] in afternoon

Some claim that churches helped to keep the native language in the area alive. However, this traditional view has been questioned by other researchers (Keel 2001, 308-309). Their data shows that it was the churches' initiative to replace German with English as the main language

⁵⁰ A remark on the side says that pastor's last name Sedo "was originaly Sedov" which is a very common Russian last name. It is an interesting fact, since Volga-Germans married exclusively within their ethnic community. However, there is no reference to his heritage in Carman's notes, so it is unclear if he was from a Volga-German family or from a Russian family. Carman only noted that Sedo was brought up in Saskatchewan, north of Regina, and spoke no German at home. He acquired it in ministry.

⁵¹ A female informant of a Volga German descent (born in 1943) provided the following numbers for attendance of this church during an interview in 1961: German services were attended by 90-100 parishioners, whereas English was preferred by 300-350 people.

⁵² Folder on Russell.

used in services. This way, they tried to attract a larger number of parishioners (e.g., young people who have been schooled in English, and others).

The fact that more youngsters preferred English as their everyday language reportedly was accepted by the Milberger community with understanding. People believed that their children would be better off if they learned English. However, opinions split when it came to the switch from German to English in church services. My subjects recalled that some eagerly embraced the change since they worried about their children not being able to fully understand the service. Others were less enthusiastic since for the whole community German traditionally has been a language of religion and losing it as such meant losing a part of their identity. Similar stories were told by young people interviewed by Carman. One man reported that his grandparents and parents spoke German. His grandfather was unhappy that his grandson spoke no German; he considered it to be a “big mistake.”

The following example of one traditional Volga German family illustrates how the Volga German dialect suddenly lost its relevance in this community. Subject 1 (born in 1923) and her husband (born in 1924) grew up speaking the dialect and never encountered English until they went to school.⁵³ English was the main language spoken in school, but reportedly all communication with their Volga German peers outside of the school yard was conducted in their dialect. The subject and her husband married in 1945 and had three children. All communication between husband and wife was exclusively in their dialect until the day he died in 2006. Their children who were born in the late 1940s learned how to speak German when they were little; the oldest daughter even was confirmed in German. However, after they entered school, none of them actively used this language either with their Volga German friends or with their own

⁵³ Subject recalled how other kids in class laughed at her when she constantly moved a verb to the final position in the sentence when speaking English (“I want the bell to ring” instead of “I want to ring the bell”).

parents. If their parents spoke in German to them, the children used English to answer. According to the subject, the oldest daughter, who is now around 60 years old, can recall some words or sentences but cannot speak the dialect coherently. The younger children, who are in their late 50s, know even less than the oldest sister. None of the three children taught German to the next generation. This example demonstrates that language can become extinct even in families that care about maintaining it. The pressure from the outside, social and cultural changes have a much bigger impact on young people and their language attitudes than pressure from the family.

When I first met subject 1, she had just lost her husband of sixty years. She was very fluent in her dialect and did not need time to think when translating sentences. During the follow-up calls and meetings a couple of years later, her language proficiency gradually declined. She noticed herself that not being able to think of simple German words became more and more common. Her circle of friends (fellow widows) is mostly English and reportedly she does not speak German even to her Volga German cousins or old friends. Her sisters who all moved out of Russell many years ago use English when they meet for reunions.

It is hard to pinpoint the decades in which the dialect left one stage of endangerment and entered another. I would maintain that this relative shift was occurring at the points of generation transitioning, e.g., children acquired less than parents starting with the generation born in the 1920s-1930s – the last generation that acquired the dialect at a *stable* level, before external factors started to put pressure from the outside.

While speakers of this generation aged and moved from one social group to another (young adults – middle age people/parents – elderly people/ grandparents and older), the stages of language endangerment moved along with their age. When they moved into the category of

senior citizens, the Milberger dialect entered the stage of the *terminal (critical)* endangerment when the elderly remained the last group from the community who remember it. Currently, it is not even used by older Volga Germans when they meet their relatives or childhood friends. It is “out there” in a form of passive knowledge, however, it ceased to exist as a vehicle of communication in a community, thus becoming virtually extinct.

3.2.5 Types of language loss

In addition to levels of endangerment, language loss can be classified in terms of its *cause* and *speed*. The former is attributed either to language shift or to the death of the population from unnatural causes (e.g., cataclysms, genocides, etc.). In terms of *speed*, the most common classification distinguishes between a *sudden death* which is an abrupt disappearance of language speakers due to a mass death of any kind, a *rapid death* that appears as a self-defense mechanism in times of genocide, and a *gradual death* or a shift to a dominant language (Campbell and Muntzel 182ff). The type of language extinction in the case of the Milberger dialect is the most common combination of a gradual language shift.

Language shift is a continuing process that usually starts with bilingualism (in some cases accompanied by diglossia) and eventually results in a replacement of the subordinate language by the dominant language (Romaine 1994, 50).

3.3 Bilingualism

When different ethnic groups come into contact, communication between them will lead to a gradual acquisition of knowledge about each other's language that eventually can result in bilingualism on the part of some or all individuals that participate in the contacting process.

Weinreich defines bilingualism as “the practice of alternately using two languages” (1953, 1). Other researchers build upon this definition by specifying the level of competence that one needs to acquire in order to become bilingual. The opinions range from Bloomfield’s “native-like control of two or more languages” (56) and Oestreicher’s “complete mastery of the different languages” (9) to Pohl’s understanding “a foreign language without being able to speak it” (344). A less extreme view was uttered by François Grosjean who defines bilingualism as “the use of two (or more) languages in one’s everyday life, not knowing two or more languages well and optimally” (1997).

As a part of language contact, bilingualism is also studied from the same three perspectives. The psycholinguistic aspect covers mechanisms of bilingual production and perception. Sociolinguistics highlights emergence of bilingual communities, social reasons of language shift, social pressure on bilinguals, language domains, etc, whereas the linguistic approach concentrates on such topics as interference, borrowings, and code-switching.

Classifications of bilingualism that have been put forward over the years were based on such variables as a. age of acquisition, b. degree of language knowledge, and c. context of acquisition. The *age of acquisition* is relevant for the distinction between *early* and *late* bilinguals, i.e., those who acquired both languages before a certain age and those who learned one of the languages after that age. Based on the degree of knowledge, researchers distinguish *balanced* bilinguals who are fluent in both languages, *dominant* bilinguals who prefer one of the languages, and *passive* bilinguals who gradually lose their proficiency in one of the languages due to language shift or under other circumstances (Lambert, Havelka and Gardner (1959). The *context of the acquisition* refers to situations where a child acquired both languages, either in a natural environment (*natural bilingualism*) or in school (*school bilingualism*).

To describe a bilingual situation of a whole community rather than an individual, Boni proposed the following model that she applied to the studied Volga German community in Russia (cited in: Berend 1991,215):

1. *Active German monolingualism* when Germans only speak their dialect;
2. *Active-passive* bilingualism when members of the German community acquire passive knowledge of the Russian language;
3. *Active-active* bilingualism when community actively employs both languages;
4. *Passive-active* bilingualism when German starts to lose its dominant position to Russian;
5. *Active Russian monolingualism* when members of the German community lose knowledge of their native language and start using Russian exclusively.

This model can be applied to the Milberger community in Kansas in a similar way as discussed above, where each stage of language loss (or in this case, each new stage of bilingualism) will coincide with external pressure and gradual social changes in the community. Kirschner's classification⁵⁴ does just that by dividing the history of Volga German bilingualism into three large periods: 1) individual bilingualism (until 1917); 2) collective bilingualism (until 1941); 3) mass (bulk) bilingualism (until today). His divisions appear arguable since in the period between the Russian Revolution and the year when Germany declared war to the Soviet Union (1941) German language was an exclusive vehicle of communication in the Soviet German Republic.

⁵⁴ Cited in: Berend 1991,242-243.

3.4 Diglossia

A special type of bilingualism is diglossia, a phenomenon introduced by Ferguson which refers to a complimentary distribution of two language varieties within one community. The domains of use for both varieties, one of which is considered to be more prestigious, are strictly divided and usually do not interfere. However, some researchers tried to broaden the view on diglossia and defined it as a coexistence of any two languages (not only varieties of one language) in mutually exclusive settings within one language community (Fishman 1974; 1975). Fishman takes four possible combinations as examples: 1) bilingualism without diglossia as exemplified by immigrants in the United States; 2) diglossia without bilingualism existing in Paraguay (Spanish and Guamo) and Switzerland (High German and Schwitzertütsch); 3) diglossia and bilingualism together as they existed among the European elites that spoke French, whereas other people in these countries spoke only their native language that was seen as “unprestigious.”

Kloss suggested the terms *inner* and *outer* diglossia to distinguish between the two coexisting varieties of the same language and the two coexisting unrelated languages, respectively (Kloss 1966,138; 1976, 316).

Another view at diglossia was within the framework of a *language conflict*, where it was seen as a part of a national language policy and a symbol of instability that potentially could lead to a language conflict (Nikolskiy 12). The ways out of this potentially dangerous situation were substitution (win of the prestigious/dominant language) or normalization (ousting of the dominant language and its substitution by the less prestigious variety accompanied by the change on government) (Kremnitz 1980).

In Milberger, one can observe a special case of diglossia that Loudon also described as being typical for Pennsylvania German communities (26). It is the coexistence of the dialect and the

High German variety that speakers acquired at the early age at church and at Sunday school.

Louden considers this type of diglossia to be typical for sectarian communities.

Informants from Russell frequently pointed at the difference between their dialect and the language they spoke at church. One subject translated the English sentence “I want to have it” as *ich will’s gern hun*. Right away, she remarked: *in daitsch s’ hen ksat “ich will habe” un mir hen ksat “ich will hun”* (“in German they said *ich will habe*, and we said *ich will hun*”). However, the same person occasionally referred to the contact induced forms (*habe* and even *haben*), especially when translating sentences from English (*ich muss es habn*; *sie will’s haben*). Appearance of the Standard German *-n* in the 3rd person plural of modal verbs (where dialectal forms are supposed to have an *-e*) is also common:

Mir missn wartn auf ihn (“We have to wait for him”).

Sie missn lure auf den. (“They have to wait for him”).

Mir sollen des wissn. (“We have to know that”).

So, in plural both dialectal and Standard German forms are possible:

- | | |
|----|---|
| Pl | 1. <i>mir <u>misse</u> and <u>missn</u></i> |
| | 2. <i>ihr misst</i> |
| | 3. <i>die <u>misse</u> and <u>missn</u></i> |

The conjugation of *hun* often showed deviations from the traditional dialectal forms:

*Ich **habe** flasch gekauft*. (“I bought some meat”).

*Ich **habe** sie mitgebracht von daitschland*. (“I brought it from Germany”).

The following examples show that speaker was aware that the first form was not “appropriate” and corrected herself immediately:

*Ich **habe** ... **hun** gelure auf dich fer zwai schtunt*.

(“I have waited for two hours for you”).

*Mai fis hemr so weh gedue. Ich glab ich **heb** den...ich **hun** sie bal*

apgelowe. (“My feet hurt. I think, I walked them off”).

*Er ist **kschtorbn**...**kschtorwe** vier oder sechs woche zurik.*

(“He died four or six weeks ago”).

High German forms constantly occurred in speech of all informants showing that diglossia had quite a strong impact on the morphological level of the dialect spoken in this community. Sometimes, speakers initiated immediate self-correction to substitute a Standard German form with the dialectal one, but other times they did not even realize that the form they used was taken from another language variety. The unconscious use of a High German form can be illustrated by the following example.

Informants 3 and 4 are husband and wife. The husband was born in a Volga German family where no other language other than the German dialect was used for communication. He married a seventeen-year-old American woman whose native language was English. Following the tradition, the newlyweds had to live in one house with the husband’s family, so that this young woman had to learn the German dialect from her husband and her father-in-law under pressure from her mother-in-law who threatened never to speak to her otherwise. Since this young woman never had to go to the Sunday school and church services were partially offered in English, she has not been exposed to High German.

She was present in the room while her husband translated the Wenker sentences. His translation of sentence 26 (“Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apple”) was interrupted by informant 4 when she heard a plural form of *apples* that her husband translated incorrectly:

Inf. 3: *hinnich unsrem haus schtehen drai schene äpplboime...*

Inf. 4: [correcting] *beim*

Inf. 3: *mit glane rode äbbl*

When asked what form was more accurate *boime* or *beim*, informant 3 said, the latter was correct and added that *boum* is used for singular whereas *beim* is the plural form. He did not address the form that he actually used (*boime*) assured that he mistakenly used the singular form (*boum*) for plural even though what he used in fact was the standard plural (*boime*).

Informant 4 translated the Wenker sentences after her husband and they never contained the High German features such as *-n* at the end of infinitive and past participle; *-n* for the 1st and the 3rd person plural. She constantly used the dialectal forms, whereas other speakers, who grew up speaking dialect and going to the Sunday school, used the High German and dialectal forms interchangeably despite being aware that one form was standard German.

Diglossia is most likely a reason why speakers of this dialect preserved a feature such as a distinctive dative case for masculine and neuter nouns and pronouns.

Standard German is not the only language that had some impact on this dialect. In coming paragraphs, after summarizing the theoretical framework of interference in a situation of a language contact, I will examine the influence that Russian and English had on the Milberger dialect during the time when it came in contact with each of them.

3.5 Linguistic interference

One of the major areas in language contact study is deviation from the norm in languages that come into contact. So, instead of speaking of a *mixture* when it comes to deviations, linguists generally agreed on the term *interference*. However, certain disagreements still exist in the

definition of *interference*, causing more specified or more neutral terms to appear, for example *contact-induced changes*, *cross-linguistic influence* (Winford 12; Romaine 52) or just *influence* (Blokland 2005).

Another issue is the definition of the term *borrowing* that is seen as a synonym of *interference* by some researchers, whereas others only use it to describe a certain type of interference, e.g., *lexical borrowing*. Because of the uncertainty in terminology, it is necessary to look closer at these two terms (*interference* and *borrowing*) to avoid further confusion.

The term *interference* was borrowed by linguists from psychology where this concept is interpreted as “a reciprocal influence of skills, when earlier acquired skills affect the newly learned ones” and vice versa (Vereshchagin 131). Sociolinguistics and pragmatics have identified several types of interference, including *cultural*, *linguo-cultural*, *positive*, *negative interference*, etc. Pragmatics traditionally distinguishes between *positive interference* (sometimes referred to as *transfer*) and *negative interference* (also referred to as just *interference*). *Positive interference* implies the reinforcing of some features in L2 based on their similarity with L1 whereas *negative interference* is the opposite process of deviation from the norms of L2 under the influence of L1. Some researchers argue that in the case of positive interference, we cannot speak about the interference per se since no conflict is involved (Vinogradov 29). Thus, in pragmatics, the term *interference* often has only the negative connotation.

In this study, I will follow the definition of *linguistic interference* that was proposed by Weinreich who describes this phenomenon as “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact” (Weinreich 1968, 1). *Linguistic interference* manifests itself at a phonic, grammatical, and lexical level. In the “Russian period”

of the Volga German dialect spoken in Russell, the only type of linguistic interference that can be observed is lexical interference, which supports the notion that during the period of contact with the Russian language, the grammatical/syntactic level of the Volga German dialects in most cases “preserves its (own) characteristics” (Berend 2004, 323). The “English period” shows predominantly lexical interference as well as occasional interference on the syntactic and phonic level (word order and accent).⁵⁵

When occurring regularly in the speech of bilinguals, interference phenomena can be established in language (Weinreich 11). In such cases, some linguists prefer to distinguish between *interference* in speech and *integration* in language and treat them as two separate phases (the initial and the final ones) (Boni 1982).

The amount of interference in a language depends on linguistic and extralinguistic factors; former include close relationships of the contacting languages (e.g., when both are closely related to each other in the Indo-European family of languages), and latter involve sociolinguistic and historic circumstances. However, the importance of these factors is not equal. Some researchers point out that the closer the two languages are related the higher grade of interference may occur (Rosseti 112-118). One of these closely related languages may have some features that are not present in another. Nevertheless, those features can be transferred into another language without presenting any obstacles in communication and thus can be harder to eliminate.

This theory is not fully supported by Thomason who claims that it is not the structure of the languages but rather the social relations that play the deciding role when it comes to interference (2007, 16). Following Kiparsky and Corteanu and without completely denying the importance of

⁵⁵ American spouse of one informant said that her husband gets German accent in English every time he gets very excited about something (similar example cited by Weinreich (1968,66).

purely linguistic factors, Thomason and Kaufman emphasize that “linguistic interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones.” Social factors, such as length of contact period between the two languages, the intensity of the contact, language accessibility, prestige of the target language, amount of the cultural pressure, relative size of the population, etc., determine both the direction and the extent of the interference (Thomason and Kaufman 35).

This statement can be illustrated on the example of the Volga German community. In the first hundred years in Russia, a relatively low degree of interference between the Russian language and the Volga German dialects can be explained by the following factors: a) the lack of intense contact with Russian neighbors; b) absence of the political pressure from Russian authorities; c) scarce opportunities to learn the Russian language; d) the large size of the German population in the settlements.

On the other hand, the Russification reforms in 1870s which resulted in Russian acquiring a dominant position in education and public offices and especially deportations in Soviet times caused extensive lexical and structural interferences in the dialects. Similar developments are observed in Volga German dialects in the USA where *extensive cultural pressure*,⁵⁶ which included English as the obligatory language of education, both World Wars when Volga Germans were perceived as enemies, the migration of young people to the bigger cities, and “mixed” marriages and thus an increase of English-speaking people in church congregations, lead to more frequent use of English and thus to a high degree of interference.

Thomason and Kaufman also developed a borrowing scale which is a hierarchy of structural features that are borrowed from one language into another based on the amount of cultural

⁵⁶ This term is borrowed from: Thomason, Kaufman (1988:77).

pressure that the recipient language experiences from the more dominant language.⁵⁷ A more detailed discussion of this scale will follow in 3.5.9.

3.5.1 Borrowing and interference

Some linguists use the term *borrowing* in the broadest sense, synonymously with *interference*, to describe any kind of linguistic influence of one language on another (Moravcsik 1978). Haugen defined *borrowing* as “the attempted reproduction in one language of the patterns previously found in another” (Haugen 1972, 81). Weinreich suggests that the term *borrowing* may be used in syntax or vocabulary “when the transfer of an element as such is to be stressed” (1967, 1) but not for the process itself. He suggests using the term *interference* to describe any difference that occurs in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language (Weinreich 1968, 1). He further specifies that this term “implies rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary” and points out that calling these instances *borrowing* would be an “oversimplification” (Weinreich, 1968, 1). Thomason and Kaufman (21) propose that the term *borrowing* should only be used to refer to “the incorporation of foreign elements into the speaker’s native language, not to interference in general.” They distinguish between the two manifestations of general interference: first, interference that allows maintaining the language and whose linguistic results are referred to as “*borrowings*” (or “*borrowing interference*”) and second, “*interference through shift*” which “results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift” (Thomason and Kaufman 38).

⁵⁷ More dominant in terms of prestige or the number of speakers.

For my analysis, I will adopt the view of Barannikova (1972) who defines the differences between *borrowing* and *interference* in the following way: *borrowing* (or *loan*) means that an element of a foreign system penetrates the recipient language and gets assimilated there; certain elements are transferred but without breaking any relationships between the elements in the recipient language. *Interference* (or *contact-induced change*) on the other hand implies changing the general language structure, including relationships between the elements of the target language as a result of language contact.

3.5.2 Lexical borrowings

Borrowing elements from other languages is seen as a positive and “natural” process by the majority of linguists (Schuchardt, Paul, Shcherba) since in addition to word formation and changes of meaning, it is one of the main ways for lexical enrichment. In fact, as mentioned by Baudouin de Courtenay, no language can be described as pure and free of any mixed (or borrowed) features (362).

Borrowings can appear on all levels - phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic, or semantic. However, since the lexical system of a language is the most open, compared to the relatively closed phonetical and grammatical systems,⁵⁸ words are borrowed easily, and even an indirect contact between the languages (for example, through literature) is enough to let a lexical item into the system.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Meillet, 84

⁵⁹ This assertion is exemplified by the Volga German dialects that borrowed lexical items from Russian language, but have not experienced any interference on phonological or grammatical level.

This assertion is supported by the fact that around eight hundred words were borrowed by the Germans during the first hundred years on the Volga but no grammatical or phonetical changes could be observed in their dialects by the researchers.

Lexical borrowings may vary in amount (they can be casual or heavy), degree of incorporation (slight or significant), time frame of borrowing (primary or secondary; newer or older), linguistic area of functioning (elevated style, technical terms, etc), semantic shift from the original meaning, the source language, etc.

Several classifications of general types of borrowings exist. The term *Loanwords* (*Lehnwörter*) is used by the majority of researchers (Haugen, 1972, Weinreich, 1977, Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, and others), but further classifications may vary. If a word has orthographic, phonetic or other features that are perceived as foreign by the native speakers, then it is classified as a *foreign word* (*vis-à-vis*, *à propos*, *embargo*, etc.). The difference between *loanwords* and *foreign words* is considered to be in the degree of phonological, orthographical and grammatical incorporation. However, some researchers refer to such type of lexical units as *loanwords with a low degree of adaptation* pointing at the dichotomy between *unassimilated loanwords* (e.g., *foreign words*) versus *assimilated loanwords*.

Most researchers build their typologies of loanwords upon the schemes first introduced by Betz (1949) who marked out the two overall divisions of *Lehnwörter* (*loanwords*) and *Lehnprägungen* (*loan substitution*, *semantic loan*, *calque*) and suggested how they could be further divided as demonstrated in the table below:

<i>Lehnwörter</i> (<i>LOAN WORDS</i>)	<i>Lehnprägungen (loancoinage, semantic loans, calques, LOAN SUBSTITUTION)</i>		
	<i>Lehnbedeutung</i> (<i>LOAN MEANING</i>) <i>Umwelt from</i> <i>“milieu”</i> <i>feuern from “to fire</i> <i>(from job)”</i>	<i>Lehnbildung (LOAN SHIFT)</i>	
		<i>Lehnformung (LOAN FORMATION) –</i>	<i>Lehnschöpfung</i> (<i>LOAN CREATION</i>) <i>Luftkissen-</i> <i>Fahrzeug from</i> <i>“hovercraft”</i>
	<i>Lehnübersetzung</i> (<i>LOAN TRANSLATION</i>) <i>Umweltschutz</i> <i>from</i> <i>“environmental</i> <i>protection”</i> <i>Wochenende from</i> <i>“weekend”</i>	<i>Lehnübertragung</i> (<i>LOAN RENDITION</i>) <i>Wolkenkratzer</i> <i>from “skyscraper”</i>	

Later researchers found some of the categories suggested by Betz redundant, especially the category of the *loan creation* (Carstensen 22, cited in: Russ 253).

For analysis of the borrowings found in the Milberger dialect, I will adopt Haugen's classification (1950, 84-85) that he based on structural features, such as importation and the extent of morphemic and phonemic substitution. He distinguishes between *loanwords*, *loan blends* and *loanshifts* whereas the latter fall into two further subcategories as shown below:

<i>Loanwords</i>	<i>Loanblends (hybrids)</i>	<i>Loanshifts</i>
		<i>Loan translations Semantic borrowings</i>

Loanwords import not only the meaning but also the phonetic shape with more or less complete substitution of native phonemes that exemplify phonemic substitution without morphemic substitution (AmE. *shivaree* from Fr. *charivari* (*an uninvited serenade of newlyweds*)). *Loan blends or hybrids* illustrate partial morphemic substitution where words consist of a native and a copied part (*Live-Sendung* from “live broadcast”). *Loanshifts* show morphemic substitution without importation where both parts are substituted with the morphemes present in the native language (full morphemic substitution), so only meaning is copied. The examples of *loanshifts* are: a) *loan translations*, such as Germ. *Wolkenkratzer* from Engl. *skyscraper* and b. *semantic borrowings* when only meaning of an already existing word is borrowed from the same word in another language (Germ. *realisieren* (*to make something come true*) borrowed the meaning of the Engl. *to realize* (*to become aware of something*)). *Syntactic borrowings* as a cover term for any contact-induced changes in syntax may also be considered a part of *loanshifts*.

3.5.3 Code Switching

Code switching is another phenomenon that arises in the situation of a language contact when members of a community are bilingual to any degree. Some researchers look at the code switching as a type of borrowings (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 158) that can range from morphemes to whole sentences. However, it is a matter of a big discussion where to draw the line between code switching and a loan/borrowing. Some argue they can be distinguished based on a degree of morphological integration of a word into the sentence structure (Sankoff, Poplack, Vanniarajan 1990). The opponents of this criterion advance the argument that in many instances single words, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the sentence, cannot be seen as borrowings due to its infrequent use in the language community or in the individual speech of

this person. They argue that frequency of the occurrence is one of the important conditions for a borrowing (Meyers-Scotton 35ff). So, this view proposes to look at the relationship between the code-switching and a borrowing as a continuum where established loan words first occur in the speech of bilinguals as a code switch. Some linguists even argue that these two phenomena cannot be distinguished by neither of the approaches and that any given example can be characterized as either a borrowing or a code switch (Gysels). When discussing Russian influence on the Milberger dialect, I will have to deal with the established set of vocabulary that excludes the discussion of code switching. Many speakers used code-switching in free speech when they had to use unadopted words or whole phrases in English.

3.5.4 Integration of loanwords

Even when a borrowing first appears in somebody's speech it tends to be adopted in terms of phonology and morphology, at least to some degree. *Phonetic* assimilation is the imitation of foreign sounds by means of the native phonetic system. Since the phonetic system of each language is different, this imitation can only be approximate. *Morphological* adaptation of foreign words implies attributing to them grammatical categories of gender, number, and case for nouns, conjugation type, tense, and mood for verbs, and adjective endings for German adjectives. No single general rule applies when gender is assigned to the nouns in German language. A study conducted by Poplack et al. (1988) showed that only one of the five investigated factors was significant (sex of the agent), whereas others played a lesser role (phonological shape, semantic analogy, homophony, shape of the suffix).

The next step of integration occurs in the language on the *semantic* level when a borrowed and phonologically and morphologically adopted word gets involved with the lexical units in

synonymic rows as well as with word-formation elements that exist in the language system. These encounters can lead to changes in the semantic volume of the borrowed element. If a completely new word is borrowed in a meaning that another word already possessed, the loanword can cause some changes in the well-established lexicon, for example: mixing of meanings, disappearance of the old word in favor of the new one, keeping both words with a differentiation in their stylistic meaning, etc.

3.5.5 Reasons for borrowing

Reasons why certain words are borrowed from one language into another are traditionally divided in external and internal factors. External factors often have to do with “identities and attitudes” (socio-psychological aspect) and are also referred to as “sociopolitical and economic” factors, e.g. they are caused by the following social circumstances: 1. more or less extensive contacts between two cultures and as a result the reciprocal influence between the two languages (trading relations, wars, colonies, speech islands, etc.); 2. a higher prestige of the donor language due to its superior or dominant culture. Borrowings can occur through direct contact with this culture in the case of military conquests, speech island situations, and a shared border. They can also appear through indirect contact with the “fashionable” culture through literature in the previous centuries or internet in the modern times; 3. another reason for new words to appear in a language is the need to name a new concept or object borrowed from another culture.

Internal factors are those where a borrowing is caused by internal linguistic reasons:⁶⁰

1. insufficient differentiation in the meaning of a word and thus further “detailing” of the meaning/s, differentiation in shades of meaning through a loanword; elimination of the polysemy

⁶⁰ Compiled after: Krysin, 1996; Grinyov, 1993; Blokland, 2003.

or homonymy in the borrowing language; 2. language economy (the donor language offers a shorter lexical item for a longer word or a word combination used in the borrowing language); 3. a lack of derivative potential of the native word, whereas the borrowing can provide it; 4. the expressive potential of the borrowed word; 6. borrowing can be used as a euphemism (borrowing a foreign word for socially unacceptable objects or concepts, for swearwords); 7. relatively infrequent words tend to be replaced when languages come in contact.

Almost all these factors were addressed by Dinges in his classification of Russian borrowings in Volga German dialects. He suggested distinguishing between rational and emotional internal factors. Rational factors are those that have no emotional connotation and are used for the following reasons⁶¹: 1. a necessity to name a newly acquired word (an object or a concept not known to the dialect speakers before): VG. dial. *tsochna* - Rus. *soha*; 2. even though a German word might be known to the dialect speakers, a Russian word is shorter: VG dial. *tabun* – Germ. *Pferdeherde*; 3. a word for an object is not known to everybody (“a partially new word”): VG and Rus. *ambar* – Germ. *Getreidespeicher*; 4. even though a German word might exist, a dialect speaker is not in a complete command of his dialect to recall it: VG and Rus. *arbus* – Germ. *Wassermelone*.

The emotional (stylistic) reasons suggested by Dinges are the following: 1. a Russian word is borrowed to express the emotional condition of the speaker when the word from the native language does not appear as expressive: a) a borrowed word has an equivalent in the recipient language but a Russian word appears to be more expressive: VG and Rus. *durak!* - Germ. *Narr*: b) a borrowed word has no equivalent in the recipient language, and the speaker uses it because he needs to express his emotions: VG and Rus. *balvan!* - Germ. *Narr*; 2. a Russian word is

⁶¹ Dinges' manuscript cited in: Berend 1991,41-42.

borrowed from stylistic reasons: a) to reproduce precisely the foreign environment: *spasiv sed dr rus* (the Russian said thank you); b) a foreign word feels nicer than a word from the native dialect: *na avr nikogda un ni v kakom slučaje du-iç des net* (Germ. *na aber nie und in keinem Fall tue ich das*); 3. a Russian word is used ironically, to mock the Russians: *die hun sich gedratst* (Germ. *die haben sich gerauft*), *učidl* (Germ. *Lehrer*); 4. a dialect speaker uses Russian words to demonstrate his ability to speak this language because he is proud of it.

The same approaches developed by Dinges can be used when analyzing the Russian and English borrowings in the Volga German dialect in Russell, Kansas.

3.5.6 History of borrowing in Germany and on the Volga

For my analysis of the Milberger dialect, I will only address two sources of borrowing that are relevant for the further discussion - these are French language and the Slavic group of languages (Polish, Czech, Russian).

Three periods of French influence on German included: a) Middle Ages, when the German language was influenced by the lexicon of French chivalry; 2) 17th century, the so-called *A-la-mode* time, when the French court was an exemplar of life style for many European states; and 3) the 18th century, when French Revolution (1789) caused another wave of admiration for France and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) brought French armies to Germany. Behagel pointed out the amount of French borrowings in West German dialects (134):

Manches aus Frankreich stammende Wort lebt heute nur noch in der Mundart, nachdem es von der Schriftsprache aufgegeben worden, oder ist überhaupt auf die Mundart beschränkt geblieben. Das gilt insbesondere für die westlichen Gegenden Deutschlands, für den Elsass und die Pfalz, wo es von sonst nicht verbreiteten französischen Wörtern geradezu wimmelt.

Some words that originated in France are preserved today only in the dialect, after they abandoned the written language, or they are used in the dialect exclusively. It especially concerns the western parts of Germany, such as Elsass and Palatinate, where there are plenty of French words that are not used anywhere else.

The French influence on the German language is relevant for this analysis, since some words of obvious French origin appear on the list of Russian borrowings in a Volga German dialect in Kansas that was compiled by Ruppenthal at the beginning of the 20th century. These words are *konieren*, *manschetten*, *preciz*, *pressiert*, *rendezvous*, *scharmand*, *verkolumpieren*, *vergaloppieren*, and *baldo*. The word *bedell* for “bottle” was not on his list but it was used by informants of this study when they were translating the Wenker sentences. Theoretically, it is possible that some of these French words found their way into the Volga German dialects in Russia, since some of them (for example, *manschetten*, *rendezvous*, *scharmand*, *baldo*, *bedell*) were widely used in the Russian language.

Grimm’s dictionary documents the words *manschetten* and *scharmant*, but does not contain *baldo* and *rendezvous*. The absence of these words there indirectly points at the “Russian” origin of these two words in the Volga German dialect. However, knowledge of French was usually limited to the noble part of Russian society which Volga Germans probably did not encounter in the area they lived. On the other hand, fashionable French words could have found their way into speech of people other than nobles. Still, the origin of these words prior to emigration appears to be more likely due to the fact that French armies were present on German territories for several years.

Slavic borrowings came into German mostly from the direct neighbors such as Poles and Czechs. Some German words of a Western Slavic origin include *Grenze* (“border”), *Droschke* (“hackney, droshky”), *Knute* (“knout”), *Plinsen* (“pancakes”), *Schmant* (“cream”), *Gurke* (“cucumber”). Some words sneaked into German through the Hanseatic contacts with Russian traders: *Kaftan*

(“caftan”), *Zobel* (“sable”), *Kalatsch* (“kalatch”- kind of fancy loaf). Most Russian borrowings can be found in Baltic German since the territory of Baltic countries have remained under Russian political influence for a long time.

3.5.6.1 Russian influence.

The amount of Russian influence on the Volga German dialects was different at different points in time and can be roughly divided into five periods. The first period lasted from the time of their arrival in the 1760s until the initiation of the reforms proposed by Alexander II in 1871 and the wave of emigration in 1876 that followed them. Reportedly, only lexical borrowings penetrated the German dialects in that period of time.⁶² The second period (1876-1917) coincides with an attempt to conduct the intensive administrative and educational Russification of the Volga Germans (Duke 746). During several decades of forceful measures coming from the Russian government, Russian was introduced as the language of school instruction and legal correspondence with local officials. More children and young adults learned the Russian language in school or in military service which resulted in increasing bilingualism of the Volga German population. The beginning of the third period coincided with the establishment of the Soviet Socialistic Volga German Republic in 1918. Volga Germans gained back the right to use their native language in public offices, even though Russian remained one of the official languages of the self-governed autonomy. According to Manykin (1992), around one thousand new Russian words were borrowed by the Volga Germans between 1917 and 1941, in addition to the eight hundred words collected by Dinges. These new lexical items mainly referred to the changing historical and social formations and included words like *Kolchosa* (“kolkhoz”,

⁶² Dinges collected around 800 words that were borrowed by the Volga Germans before 1876.

“collective farm”), *Traktor* (“tractor”), *Bolschewik* (“Bolshevik”), etc. Manykin (10) argued that no less than 80% of the population in the Volga German Republic was monolingual until 1941.

The start of WWII marks the beginning of the fourth period in this classification. A military conflict with Germany triggered forcible resettlements of the Volga Germans to Siberia and Kazakhstan. In that time, people had to renounce their language not to provoke more hatred from the outsiders who saw them as deported Nazi collaborators. Such a self-defense mechanism often causes a *sudden death* of a language, but in the case of the Volga Germans it was not a complete *death*, presumably due both to a relatively short period of repressions and a large overall number of dialect speakers who survived them. With the end of the war starts the new stage of the linguistic influence caused by a dominant language. Germans were not allowed to return to the Volga region, so they had to continue with their lives in remote areas of the Soviet Union, surrounded by Russians. Despite all the difficulties, dialects survived and are still spoken in many places in Siberia and on the Volga. If it was not for the mass immigration to Germany that started in the 1970s and is continuing to the present day, the Volga German dialects might be in a much better standing in terms of the number of speakers. As shown in the latest studies, interferences from the dominant Russian language now manifest themselves at all linguistic levels - lexical, syntactic and morphological (see: Alexandrov, Baykova, Frolova), but some researchers are optimistic about the future of the dialect use. Frolova (64) maintains that the dialect in the village of Gerbel (at the Lower Volga) is not facing language shift because the bilingualism in this area is “voluntary and stable.” However, she remarks that if mass emigration to Germany continues, then it will result not only in a language loss but in a loss of a whole ethnic community.

3.5.7 Russian Borrowings in the Milberger dialect

3.5.7.1 History of Research

The conservative community of Volga Germans has always been very reluctant about allowing foreign influences into their lives. Having adjusted to the “external circumstances” such as the dressing habit or food preferences of their new neighbors, Volga Germans tried to keep their religion, traditions, and language free of foreign influences. However, they could not avoid picking up some words and expressions from their Russian neighbors.

The best evidence for the extent of the Russian influence on the German dialects before the Russification policies came in place should have been collected before 1876 in the Volga region or right after the first colonists arrived in America. However, no studies on borrowings were conducted on either continent until the 1910s-1920s. A comprehensive investigation began on the Volga in the 1910s initiated by a linguist of Volga German descent, Georg Dinges. His dissertation “About Russian Words Borrowed by the Volga Germans until 1876” did not fully survive. Only a manuscript with the summary containing 101 Russian loanwords is available in the archives of the University of Saratov and is discussed in detail by Berend (1991, 39-50) and Johnson (2001). The data for the analysis in his dissertation came from written sources (essays, letters, and publications written mostly about the colonies by Volga German authors before 1876), and the total amount of Russian borrowings that he presumably collected during his fieldwork was around 800 lexical items. This number is very surprising considering the amount of Russian words collected in Kansas among members of the Volga German communities at the beginning of the twentieth century.

As remarked by Johnson, the research that was carried out in Kansas at the beginning of the twentieth century was limited to compiling word lists by people interested in the history of their

hometowns, who at the same time lacked a linguistic background. Thus, the available information will neither give us “a full picture of the use of Russian loanwords in the Volga German dialects, either in Russia or in Kansas” nor provide us with “enough material to be certain that any conclusion we might make about why words were retained or lost are true” (Johnson 210). Nevertheless, due to the lack of any other information, the words collected in Kansas at the beginning of the twentieth century have an incredible value for modern researchers.

The earliest list of Russian words in the Volga German dialect in Kansas appeared in 1910⁶³ in the article by Rev. Francis S. Laing (522), in which he mentioned eleven Russian words that he collected from his informants: “*ambar*” (granary), “*arbus*” (watermelon), “*galosch*” (overshoe), “*kaback*” (wages), “*kaftan*” (coat), “*kalatsch*” (white bread), “*kaluntsch*” (swing), “*kardus*” (cap), “*plotnik*” (carpenter), “*polschupka*” (large overcoat), “*prostoi*” (common).

A longer list from the year 1913 was compiled by J.C. Ruppenthal, a judge from Russell, Kansas. This list contains a total of forty eight lexical items with some words of obvious French origin. Seven out of eleven words from Laing’s list are also mentioned by Ruppenthal, sometimes with a different spelling.

For researchers, investigating Russian borrowings in the Volga German dialects of Kansas, Ruppenthal’s list became a basis for questionnaires. Unfortunately, he had no linguistic training and did not provide any information either about the background of his informants (such as their age, religion, place of birth, etc.) or about the places where these words were collected.⁶⁴ It is also not clear whether this list was obtained by the direct questioning of informants concerning what Russian words they knew or actively used or by listening in and making notes. If the former

⁶³ The first immigrants from Kratzke came to Russell, Kansas, in 1876; the second big wave was during the years 1900-1910.

⁶⁴ Russell County is the most probable place, but he might have covered an extended area for his research.

approach was used, that would mean that speakers were aware of which words in their language were of a foreign origin. Unfortunately, it was not always the case with the third generation speakers who were the subject of this study. Since a very small amount of Russian words can be found in the free speech data, this unawareness could have been a problem for the current researchers if Ruppenthal's list did not exist.

The Russian words collected by Ruppenthal were published in 1913 in his article *The German Element in Central Kansas* and in 1914 in a one page article *Russian Words in Kansas*, edited by Chace in the Journal called *Dialect Notes*. The later edition (1914) was surprisingly missing half of the words, but appended Russian translations and etymological comments that are adduced in the third column below.

Here is Ruppenthal's list of Russian words in the Volga German dialect in Kansas:

1913	English translation (1913)	Russian word (1914) ⁶⁵
1. <i>ambar</i>	granary	<i>ambar</i>
2. <i>arbus, erbus</i>	watermelon	<i>arbus</i>
3. <i>baldo, paletot</i>	overcoat	<i>palto</i> *
4. <i>bantke</i>	glass jar	<i>banka</i> *
5. <i>betta!</i>	awful! (exclamation)	<i>beda!</i> *
6. <i>boltschupke</i>	short overcoat	<i>polushubok</i> *
7. <i>brosch</i>	land that was once cultivated but gone back to grass	<i>brosh</i> , from <i>brosat</i> ', to abandon * <i>broshennyĩ</i> ("abandoned")
8. <i>galosche</i>	overshoes of rubber or leather	<i>galosha</i> *, Sg <i>galoshi</i> *, Pl <i>galosh</i> *, Gen.Pl.

⁶⁵ Words with "*" were not included into the publication in 1914, so they were translated by me, whereas translations without "*" come from this article (1914).

9. <i>gas</i>	petroleum, also its products	<i>gas*</i>
10. <i>gofta</i>	short jacket for women	<i>kofta</i>
11. <i>grulitz, gruelitz</i>	a small closed porch	<i>kryltso*</i>
12. <i>gumia, gumja, gumya</i>	partner, pal, pard (comrade)	<i>kum*</i> , Sg <i>kum 'ia*</i> , Pl
13. <i>jemtschik</i>	driver of a vehicle	<i>yamshchik*</i> [ye]
14. <i>kalotsch</i>	loaf of white bread baked in a big outdoor oven	<i>kalatch*</i> , Sg
15. <i>kardus</i>	a cap probably from Carthusian garb	<i>kartuz</i> [s]
16. <i>klapot</i>	a lawsuit; hence, any trouble. The word is used in the pl. to mean lawsuit or trouble. The partitive genitive is commonly used in the Russian idiom. The Germans did not recognize the construction and so borrowed that form as the simplest and most familiar.	<i>khlopoty</i> gen.pl. <i>khlopot</i>
17. <i>knout</i>	whip	<i>knut</i>
18. <i>konieren</i>	to torment, to ill treat a sentient being (French, <i>counieren</i>)	---
19. <i>manischka</i>	shirt with (<i>starched or</i>) ironed bosom	<i>manishka</i>
20. <i>manschetten</i>	cuffs on shirt	<i>manzhety*</i>
21. <i>messit</i>	bran and straw mash for feeding live stock	<i>mesivo</i> , from <i>mesit'*</i> to knead
22. <i>natschelnik</i>	a kind of court officer	<i>nachal'nik</i>
23. <i>ninatte</i>	a negative, as by "no means"	(possibly) <i>ne nado*</i> (don't!) or <i>ni za chto*</i> (by no means)
24. <i>nubi</i>	a part of apparel, perhaps a fascinator	(?)
25. <i>pachschu</i>	a garden plot, (or similar small patch of cultivated ground) (<i>a garden plot for watermelons</i>)*	<i>bakhcha</i>
26. <i>papyrus</i>	cigarette	<i>papirosa</i> , Sg <i>papiros</i> , Gen.Pl.

27. <i>parschol</i>	go away!	<i>poshiol</i> , pret.of <i>poiti</i>
28. <i>parscholista</i>	go away!	Originally in the article: “ <i>pozhalusta</i> , for <i>pozhalui</i> , imper. of <i>pozhalovat</i> ’, to grant, plus the suffix <i>-sta</i> . Lit. <i>grant, please</i> . A formal way to request anyone to be gone.” “ <i>poshiol otsyuda</i> ”*
29. <i>plet</i>	a wide whip or riding quirt	<i>plet</i> *
30. <i>plodnik</i>	a carpenter	<i>plotnik</i>
31. <i>preciz</i>	precise	---
32. <i>pressiert</i>	pressing	---
33. <i>presumieren</i>	presume	---
34. <i>radnik</i>	recruit	<i>ratnik</i>
35. <i>rendezvous</i>	rendezvous	---
36. <i>samovar</i>	tea steeper or self-cooker	<i>samovar</i>
37. <i>sarai</i>	a small building to a house, but disconnected	<i>sarai</i> *
38. <i>scharmand</i>	pretty; fine garment; considerable in amount	---
39. <i>sedilka</i>	bridge or back band on harness for draft animals (on harness of horses)	<i>sediolka</i>
40. <i>simlinka</i>	a dugout (<i>a cave or dugout to live in or use as a dwelling</i>)	<i>zemlianka</i>
41. <i>sotnik</i>	a constable	<i>sotnik</i>
42. <i>steppe</i>	prairie	<i>step'</i>
43. <i>stuft</i>	a measure of about a quart	Germ. <i>Stoff</i> *
44. <i>tulup</i>	a garment; a greatcoat	<i>tulup</i>
45. <i>tuppke</i>	leggings; felt shoes	<i>tapok</i> * Sg <i>tapki</i> * Pl

46. <i>verkolumpieren</i>	lapsus linguae; slip of tongue	---
47. <i>vergallopieren</i>	slip of tongue	---
48. <i>winna</i>	a plant like wild morning glory	<i>v'iun, v'iunok* (?)</i>

Several points need to be addressed in regards to the table above:

1. The phonological adaptation of the Russian loan words shows the following peculiarities:

- 1) In a word's final position, devoiced consonants occur in the same way as in Russian:
kardus (kartus), gas (gas).
- 2) Voiceless consonants in *initial position* and in consonant clusters next to a sonorant are lenited: *baldo (palto), bolschuppke (polushubok), gofta (kofta), grulitz (krylzo), gumja (kum/ya), plodnik (plotnik), radnik (ratnik), kardus (kartus).*
- 3) The traditional Russian ending *-a* for feminine nouns is either kept in the original form: *gofta (kofta), manischka (manischka), sedilka (sediolka), semlinka (zemlianka)* or replaced with the German noun ending *-e* (partial reduction of the vowel): *bantke (banka), galosche (galoscha).* Words *polushubok* and *step'* also receive the ending in the dialect: *bolschuppke, steppe.*
- 4) As mentioned in research on Russian borrowings (Wiens 99, Blokland 499), some words are borrowed in a non-nominative form due to a high frequency of oblique cases occurring in a conversation. So, the word *klapot* (Rus. *khlopoty* - nom. pl) could easily be borrowed from the gen. pl. Rus. form *khlopot /hlapot/*, since it occurs more frequently in the word combinations *mnogo khlopot* ("a lot of trouble") or *stolko khlopot!* ("so much trouble!"). A similar pattern could have been followed while adopting the word *papyrus* (Russ. *papirosa*) which corresponds with the Russian gen.pl. form *papiros* and occurs in frequent phrases like "do you have any

- cigarettes?” (“*u vas net papiros?*,” “*papiros ne naydyotsya?*,” etc).⁶⁶ The word *bakhcha* is borrowed in an unexpected form *pakhschu*, which could be attributed to the acc.sg. *bakhchu* heard by the settlers in word combinations like “you see (the plot),” “you need to get (a plot),” and others. It is not known if *tuppe* designates singular or plural in the dialect but it is closer to the Russian plural form for “slippers” - *tapki* (*tapok* – nom. sg.).
- 5) The Russian phoneme “щ” (/šč/), for example /*yemščik*/, was replaced in the dialect with the affricate /tʃ/, familiar for the dialect speaker - *jemtschik* /*jemtʃik*/. The palatalization of final consonants frequent in Russian was not transferred into German (*step*’ → *steppe*; *plet*’ → *plet*).
- 6) Vowel substitutions occurred both in stressed and unstressed syllables:⁶⁷ a. raising in stressed syllables: Russ. *kalátsch* → Germ.dial. *kalotsch*, Russ. *nacháľ’nik* → Germ.dial. *natschelnik*, Russ. *sedíolka* → Germ.dial. *sedilka*, Russ. *zemliánka* → Germ.dial. *semlinka*; Russ. *papirósa* → Germ.dial. *papyrus*; b. rounding in the unstressed syllable: Russ. *kryłtso* → Germ. dial. *grulitz*.
- 7) Syntagmatic changes include epenthesis: Russ. /*paʃiol*/ → Germ. dial. *parschol* or *parscholista*;⁶⁸ Russ. *banka* → Germ. dial. *bantke*; Russ. *kryłtso* → Germ. dial. *grulitz*; and syncope: Russ. *polushubok* → Germ.dial. *bollschupke*, *polschupka* (in Laing).

⁶⁶ However, this might also be attributed to the traditional vowel reduction at the end of the noun typical for Russian words borrowed by the German dialect speakers (Baykova 17).

⁶⁷ Vowels in the first syllables of words like Russ. *yamschtschik*, *khlopot* (gen.pl.), *zemlianka* are pronounced as /ɛ/, /a/, /i/ respectively, so they were borrowed in their spoken form by the dialect speakers, and thus have no vowel change.

⁶⁸ See below for a more detailed discussion of this word.

2. All Russian forms without the (*) come from the 1914 article edited by Chace and were provided by “a Russian couple (Mr. and Mrs. Shapovalov, of the University of Maine)” (161). One word on this list has an arguable explanation of origin: Germ.dial. “*parscholista*” for “go away!” is linked to the Russian word “*pozhalusta*” (“*please*”):

“*pozhalusta*, for *pozhalui*, imper. of *pozhalovat*’, to grant, plus the suffix *-sta*. Lit. *grant*, *please*. A formal way to request anyone to be gone” (161).

Most likely, this connection was made by the Russian couple solely based on the phonetical similarity, since the expression “*go away!*” could barely be related to the word *please*. Their last remark that *pozhalusta* may be used as “a formal way to ask anyone to be gone” was rather a desperate attempt to explain this connection, since as the English *please* and the German *bitte*, the Russian *pozhaluista* can be used as an invitation to any kind of action depending on the context of a given situation (to sit down, to start doing something, to come in, to go away, etc.). It is more likely that *porschalista* is a compressed form of the Russian expression “*poshiol otsyuda!*” (“*go away!*”).

3. Three words from the first list appeared to be difficult to link to any Russian word – *ninatte* (by no means), *stuft* (a measure of about a quart), and *nubi* (item of apparel, probably a fascinator). Possibly, *ninatte* could be related to the Russian expressions *ne nado* (don’t!) or *ni za chto* (by no means). The word *stuft* most probably is the originally German word *Stoff* (*Stauf*) that was also used in the Russian language as a measure of 1.23 liter. The Russian equivalent to the word *nubi* is unknown. It can be a procope form of a longer Russian word.

4. Words *winna* (bindweed) and *brosch* (uncultivated land) can be either borrowings from Russian (Russ. *v’iun* and *broschenny* (abandoned) or German dialectal forms coming from

Winde and *Brache*. The origin of the word *kaluntsch* (swings) from Laing's list is more likely connected to the German dialectal form *klunsch* than to the Russian word *kacheli*.

5. Elimination of the words like *konieren*, *manschetten*, *preciz*, *pressiert*, *rendezvous*, *scharmand*, *verkolumpieren*, *vergaloppieren* from the later publication of the Ruppenthal's list is understandable since their French origin is apparent, even though some of them might have made their way into the Volga German dialect in Russia. For comparison, "*charmant*" and "*manschetten*" are registered in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* whereas "*rendezvous*" is not. Another word that belongs to this category is *bedell* (*bottle*), which was found in the data but was not on Ruppenthal's list.

6. Another problem arises if one needs to determine whether the words traditionally treated as Russian loans in Volga German dialects are primary (borrowed while in Germany from Slavic languages) or secondary loanwords (borrowed while staying in Russia). As examples, one can take words *galosch*, *gofta*, *kardus*, and *baldo*.

The word *baldo* comes from the French *paletot* "overcoat", so it could have been borrowed by the settlers along with other French words in the 17th century back in their homeland. However, the phonological adaptation of the word with the lenition of voiceless consonants typical for Russian borrowings in German (Russ. *palto* – Ger. *baldo*) as well as its absence in Grimm's dictionary could be indirect proof for it being borrowed in Russia. This word has also been traditionally classified as a Russian borrowing in Baltic languages, a view that Blokland does not support.

The issue with the first three words (*galosch*, *gofta*, *kardus*) is that they are seen as German borrowings in the Russian Etymological Dictionary by Vasmer. The same dictionary mentions

that *kardus* was possibly introduced by the Volga German colonists into the life of a Russian farmer:

1. “галоша – borrowing from Germ. *Galosche* which came from Fr. *galoche*...” (389)
2. “кофта - ...Because Swed. *kofa*, Dan. *kofte*, Norw. *kufte* could not be borrowed from Russian, we should rather assume the western origin of the Russian word. ... The origin of Slav. and Scand. words is possibly the Low Germ. Bremen *kufte* (man's long outer garment (caftan) of coarse cloth), Balto-Germ. *kufte* (a house coat).” (355)
3. “картыз - ...From Fr. *cartouche* borrowed from It. *cartoccio*. ...Sobolevskiy... assumes that картыз is of the Dutch origin (holl. *kardoes*); same in Mölen (91, 141...). It is being pointed out that kardus was brought over by the German colonists to the Volga and was spread among Russian farmers (Melnikov 3, 141)” (204)

Despite Fasmer's explanations, *gofta* (=kuhti) is treated as a Russian borrowing in Baltic German by Kiparsky (162-163) and in Estonian by Blokland (190). Apart from that, Grimm's German Dictionary has no record of the words *kufte*, *kufter*, *gofta* or any other form of it. On the other hand, the word *koffter* is considered to be a Polish borrowing found in German documents (*Urkunden*) produced by the German *Kanzlei* in Krakow (Kaleta 71). Thus, all sources except for the Russian Etymological Dictionary, point at the Slavic origin of this word in German dialects. In the case of the Volga German word *gofta*, its close resemblance with the Russian word, rather points to its Russian origin. Grimm's dictionary provides no entry for the word *galosche*, whereas entry on “*karduse*” does not mention it in a sense of a “cap”:

“*karduse* – die kanonepatrone, pulverbeutel zur kanoneladung. nl. *kardoes*. aus fr. *cartouche*, das später als *kartusche* neu aufgenommen war” (1873:23).

Indirectly, it suggests the absence of these words in German language by 1870s. Still, due to the contradictory data it remains an open question whether these words were borrowed by the dialect speakers in Russia or if they already were a part of the Volga German lexicon prior to the trip to the steppe.

3.5.7.2 Russian loanwords in Baltic German

The lists of Russian borrowings in Baltic German and Estonian adduced by Kiparsky and Blokland shows that almost one-half of the words from Ruppenthal's list (seventeen out of forty words, if we exclude the eight clearly French items) were documented as Russian loanwords in Baltic German and/or Estonian. The table below shows the Volga German word in the first column with its variant in Baltic German (as documented in Kiparsky; Blokland). The third and the fourth columns provide the year when this word was first documented in Baltic German and in Estonian, respectively.

VG	Baltic German	Year	Estonian
ambar	ambare	1779	1893
arbus	arbuse (?)		1869, loan from either Baltic Germ. or Russian.
baldo			mistakenly seen as a Russian word ⁶⁹
gofta	kuft	1776	1869 kuhti
jemtchik	jemtschik	1795	
kalotsch	kalatsche	1795	1869
klapot	chlopott (klapott)	1889	
knout	knute	1795	1869
pachshu			bahtša, 1960
papyrus			pabeross, 1893
parschol	poschol! (fahr los! fort!)	1880	1956
plet	plette	1936	1869
plodnik	plotnik	1795	1818

⁶⁹Blokland adds *baldo* to the words that are mistakenly treated as Russian borrowings by other authors. He does not give an explanation, but it is most likely because he sees this word as a French borrowing.

sarai			sara, sarrai, 1869
sedilka	sedulke	1795	1869
sotnik	sesnycken, sesnicke, sostenicken	1495	1869
tulup	tolubbe, talubbe	1785 probably from Polish	1893

Several words that are not on Ruppenthal's list but have been found in Russell, KS, Ellis County, KS, and WDSA also appear in Baltic German and/or Estonian.

VG	Baltic German	Year	Estonian
birog	piroge	1785	1869
blina	blinis	1880	1933
kabak	kaback(e)	1643	
kaftan			kaftan, 1869
kvas	kwas	1795	1933
nuzhnik			first half of the 20 th century
prostoi	prost, prostoi	1795	

At least four words from these lists were also known in German territories, as was concluded by other researchers. The word *Kaftan* is recorded in Grimm's Dictionary and appears in the documents of the Chancellery of Krakow in the 16th century (Kaleta 72), as well as the word *Koffter* (*gofta* in Russell) (Kaleta 71). The word *kalatsch* (white bread) was introduced in the German territories in the 17th century through the contacts encouraged by the Hansa trade union (Winter 275). *Kaback* or *kabacke* is described as being "wide spread in German dialects" but the original Russian meaning *Wirtshaus* (tavern) was only documented for Baltic German (also attested with this meaning in Victoria, Kansas). In other German dialects that borrowed this word (Pomerania, Silesia, Upper Saxony, Westphalia), it means "old shabby house" (Bielfeldt 16;

Winter 273) which could have developed from “old tavern”. The words *knut* and *steppe* are said to be borrowed in the 17th and 18th century, respectively, from the Russian language into the German *Schriftsprache* (Bielfeldt 16).

These data shows that many of the words known on the Volga have been documented not only for the Baltic German (mostly at the end of the 18th century, some even as early as the 15th - 16th century) but also for other German dialects in the 16th - 18th century. This does not mean that any or all of them were known to the first settlers before they arrived in Russia. The available records of the first settlers of Kratzke show that two families came there from Finland, one came from Poland, and several arrived from Central parts of Prussia (Pomerania, Brandenburg) (Pleve 382-390). They could have brought some Slavic borrowings with them (including words like *tulup* and *prostoi* that some see as Polish loan words), but it is hard to say with certainty if that was the case. The only conclusion that can be made is that all the facts discussed above suggest that the amount of Russian influence on the Volga German dialects could be narrowed down to even fewer lexical items.

3.5.7.3 Retained Russian loanwords in the Milbergerer dialect

Since no direct evidence supports the assumption that words traditionally treated as Russian borrowings in Volga German dialects had been known to the settlers before they came to Russia, for the purpose of this study, I treat them as Russian loanwords presumably acquired during the stay in the Volga region. Ruppenthal’s list, expanded by words taken from Laing and Wiens, was used as the basis of the questionnaire presented to the subjects of this study. Work with this survey constituted a portion of the interview when informants were asked whether they recognized the word and if they used it actively. In addition, participants were asked if they

recognized random words from Dinges' list. Interviews showed that the number of Russian words retained in the vocabulary of the speakers is scarce.

Out of nine subjects all nine recognized words *arbus*, *nuzhnik*, *schtepp*, *birog*, *blini (blina)*, *sarai (sairai)*, *gum-gumja*, *grilitz (grilitzje)*, *babushka*, and *ambar*. Two people knew the words *gofta*, *matchka*, *trosti/schtrasti*. One person (not one and the same) was familiar with words *galatsch*, *samovar*, and *kvas*. Three people recognized the word *charmant*.

Several of the recognized words need to be discussed in detail.

- Some words that informants perceived as Russian turned out to be dialectal German words. One informant mentioned that they used several different words to call a fly such as *flieche*, *schnouk*, and *mukk*. She thought that some of them had to be of Russian origin. At the first glance, *mukk* sounds similar to the Russian *mucha* but in fact *mugg* is a common word for a fly in German dialects.
- The word *charmant*, even though not a Russian borrowing, is worth mentioning because of an interesting development it underwent in the dialect. In Grimm's dictionary, this word is recorded with its original French meaning

“pretty, charming” and additionally “loved”: “*bellus, venustus, mit voll auslautendem t: der mensch ist ganz charmant; mein charmanter, mein geliebter; die charmante, die geliebte; charmante seele! Felsenb. 2, 344; er hat ihr einen charmanten brief geschrieben.*” (Bd. 2).

In the discussed dialect, this word developed the meaning “pretty” in the sense of “quite, rather”: *it is charmant schen draos* (“it is quite nice outside”), *der hat charmant viel geld* (“he has quite a lot of money”); *sie ist charmant schen* (“she is quite pretty”), *wie geht's?*

- *charmant gut* ("how are you?" - "pretty good").⁷⁰ Apparently, this shift in the meaning occurred not in the United States but in the Volga region since it is mentioned in Berend (2003, 251) as *schamant* meaning *ziemlich gut* and in Heinz (141). Heinz does not mention whether his information comes from secondary literature or from his own data, but generally his article describes the Volga Germans currently living in Germany so presumably that is where this word was obtained.

- *Sarai* or *sairai* (as most of the informants pronounced it) is a word that Ruppenthal or/and his informants perceived as a Russian borrowing meaning "*storage building*" that is also metaphorically used for "*a mess*" (both meanings are common in Russian, as well). All informants in Russell knew this word primarily in the second meaning (*na, die hen sarai dehin gmocht* - "*they made a mess there*") and were surprised to hear that it was a Russian word. The common reaction was: "I would always think of pigs when I heard it" (the word for pigs in this dialect is *sai*). Since some informants confirmed that the same word was used for a "storage building," most probably, *sarai* was borrowed from the Russian language and then linked to the German dialectal word *sai* as in German *Sauerei*.
- In the dialect, some words exist in various forms. For example, *bliny* (same form as in Russian) and *blina*; *grulitz* and *grulitzje* (with the diminutive suffix). The word

⁷⁰ An interesting story was told by one of the informants concerning the word *charmant*:

"(There was) a kid in class. The pastor asked him "wie ist de grossmudder? And he said "charmant gut" and the pastor said "so ain hässliches wort" and we always thought that was a swearword or something. He did not like that but that was not the worst part. My mother had a stillborn baby and we went to hoisington to the hospital to see her. We took the preacher along and when he said to my mother "fraa K., wie sind sie hait?" she said "charmant gut" and I almost died of embarrassment because I knew he did not like that word. But we never knew why he did not like it. Evidently, that was a Russian word and he did not want to hear it. But we always used that: how are you? - charmant gut."

It could have been a word that this particular pastor perceived as "ugly" because of its French origin which made it sound "sinful" to him. No other explanation was found concerning this fact.

gum/gumja shows even more variations. Some speakers preserve the original Russian distinction between singular (*gum*) and plural (*gumja*). Others use the word *gumja* as a singular form (*des is main gumja* – “this is my pal”). Informant 8 (who is from the family that was described by the majority of inhabitants as speakers of a slightly different dialect) used *gumja* as a diminutive form of *gum* with the meaning “little pal.”

- Some words were recognized by the speakers with the remark that some older relative used to say it, for example the word *gofta* that one informant recalled with a comment “*grandpa used it*” (for a short coat).
- The word *trosti* was not originally in the questionnaire but during the very first interview Subject 2 asked if this word that her mother remembered hearing from her mother was a Russian word. According to this subject, *trosti* was used both for “hello” and for “see you around” (similar to the Hawaiian *aloha*, as she put it). Another informant only knew it as a greeting in a form *schtrasti* which is closer to the Russian original (*zdrasti*). Even though both informants were from the same generation and knew each other from childhood, according to the second subject, this form was a rather common greeting to use among close friends “for being silly instead of hello”: *na, schtrasti! schon lange net ksehe* (“oh, hi! long time no see!”). Apparently, the usage of certain words was spread in some families wider than in others.
- The word *matuschka* (“little mother”) was on the additional questionnaire but it was not recognized by subjects during the first interview when I read words out loud. Instead, Informant 2 asked later that day, if the word *matschka* was of Russian origin. Her mother-in-law, when she wanted to say something like “you are a character!” to her little granddaughters, would say *du bist ne matschka!* Further the informant added, for

endearment, her mother-in-law said “*du, matschert*,” “*so kleine matschert*.” The word *matschert* must be another derivative from the Russian *mat*’, *mater*’ (mother). *Matschka* was recognized by one more informant who described the meaning of “*oh, du matchka*” as “*you silly thing!*” used for little girls only. Etymologically, the word *matchka* can either be linked to the Russian word *matushka* or to the word *matchka* (“cat”) that exists in several Slavic languages.

The fact that some words are only remembered as being said by parents or grandparents proves that the amount of Russian loan words was more extensive. The lexical items that remained in usage of this last generation of speakers were names of foods (*birog*, *bliny*, *arbus*, *kalatsch*), buildings or sights around the house (*ambar*, *nuzhnik*, *grilitz*, *sarai*, *schtepp*), and frequently used or heard words (*sairai* for “mess” or *gum*). An interesting fact is that the group of words that almost completely vanished were clothing items (*bolschupke*, *baldo*, *kardus*). Partly, they have been replaced by the English words (*baldo* → *coat*) with the word *mond* being used only for a pastor’s coat.⁷¹ Similar to the pair *baldo* → *coat*, some lexical items show a trend described in Berend (2003, 258): If a word was known only as a Russian borrowing on the Volga, it was replaced by an English word in America, without a German equivalent being known to the speaker: *siren* → *lilac bush*, *badnos* → *tray*, *plet*, *knut* → *whip*, *boltschuppke* → *overcoat*, *konfarge* → (*stove*) *burners*, *tsehulan* → *pantry*, *plodnik* → *carpenter*, *gulyanka* → *party*, etc.

⁷¹ One of the informants described experiences in Germany and mentions the usage of the words *coat* and *mond* in their dialect: “*Like in the daitsch schulen (in church school) mir hen was in de bibel war. Awer wi ich nach daitschland komme ja - lieber himmel - wie sagt man dann jetzt luftschiff airplane naja luftschiff. Television wie sagt man des? Und radio... es war rundfunk. When we went downtown dann sagt’ ich mal: Ich muss mein coat hole. Was meint man denn? Was ist ein coat? Oh, du meinst mond! Das was der pastor hat 'n wormn mond bei uns.*”

The total number of words in the main questionnaire was 51 plus *matschka* and *trosti* (since they were detected in the very first interview); in addition, random words were asked from Dinges' extensive list. This additional questionnaire did not bring results when it came to the recognition of new words. However, it helped to detect the trend of Russian words being replaced by the English equivalents with no corresponding German words being present in the lexicon of the dialect speakers.

16 out of the 53 words (30%) were recognized or mentioned by the informants. Similar statistics can be seen in Johnson's study of the Catholic Volga Germans in Ellis County, KS: speakers recognized 17 out of the 51 presented words (33%) and produced only 6 words (12%) in free conversations or translations (79).

3.5.8 Interference from the English language

The First Volga German settlers came to the United States in 1876, followed by more immigrants until the 1910s. Grandparents of the informants came to America at the age of nine to eighteen and brought over a German dialect enriched by some Russian words. Families kept using their dialect in everyday communication; some of them never learned English.

The grandchildren of the first settlers grew up during WWII, so pressure from the non-German neighbors made some of them pretend they did not speak German. They kept their language alive in their families, partially in church (confirmation, services in German, Sunday school). However, all education was in English, so young members of the community were exposed to another language at an early age which led to their bilingualism.

Expanding contacts with the English-speaking communities, mixed marriages, English replacing German as the language of church services – all these factors led to the gradual shift towards

another language (English) being the main means of communication within the German community. Thus, unlike Russian in the previous hundred and forty years, English has affected more than just the vocabulary of the Milberger dialect. Those contact-induced changes can be seen both in translations of Wenker sentences and in free speech.

3.5.8.1 Wenker sentences.

When subjects translate sentences, they are exposed to the written material that expectedly affects the translation by causing interference from the source language. The following paragraphs present examples of loan words, loan shifts, and syntactic borrowings occurring in Wenker sentences.

It was previously discussed that borrowing is hard to distinguish from code-switching. In a community that is now using English exclusively as the first language, thus experiencing the final stages of language shift, it is very difficult to use a quantitative approach that looks at the degree to which one lexical item is spread among the speakers. Therefore, further I will treat cases of interference from the English language as loan words if they show morphological and phonological assimilation. Even though researchers pointed out the disadvantages of this approach, it appears to be the most logical under these circumstances.

Loanwords

The following table compares the instances of loanwords in the Wenker sentences produced by five fluent to relatively fluent speakers. The first two columns provide the number of the Wenker sentence and its English equivalent. The following seven columns show parts of the translated sentences that exhibit English interference at the lexical level. It also demonstrates the extent of

phonological and morphological assimilation as well as a relative “popularity” of a particular loanword in a community:

Sent. #	No of informant: English	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
6.	The cakes are burned black on the bottom.	Der kuche war schwarz gebrennt unne.	Die cakes ware verbrannt schwarz unne on dem bottom.	Die cakes sin schwarz gebrennt unne.	Die cakes die sin schwarz gebrennt unne.	Die kuche die sin gebrennt unne.	Der cake is ganz schwarz gebrennt unne.	---
11.	I am going to hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey!	du aff!	du monkey...du aff!	du aff!	du aff!	du monkey!	du monkey!	du off!
15.	You learned the most today and were well-behaved.	warst so braw	warst well-behave... beho:ft	war gut behaved	war gut behaved	Du hast dich gut behave-t	host noch behave-t	hascht gud betrage
17.	Go... and clean them with a brush.	mit der gut berscht	saibern den mit der berscht	saiwer den mit e berscht	saiBRE sie mit e berscht	saiwer aine brasch	ch saiber mim brosch	saiBER mit de berscht

19.	Who stole my basket of meat?	Wer hat dann mai korb of flasch geschtohle?	Wer hot mai korb of meat flasch geschtohle?	Wer hot unden korb of flasch kschtohle?	Hast main <u>basket of</u> flasch geschtohle?	Wer hot main <u>baks</u> of flasch geschtohle?	Wer hot mai flasch genumme von den <u>baks oder basket?</u>	Wer hat main korb flasch geschtohle?
20	He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing.	als wo die den bedient hedde for de wa:sdresche	als hätten sie <u>gehire-t</u> for des dresche	als von ne den getrot hätt for dresche	so won die ihn (hen) <u>hired hätt</u> for tresche	als sie hätten den <u>gehire-t</u> for dresche	als wonn der <u>gehire-t</u> wär worr for dresche	sowon er ihn gedient hätt fur dresche
21.	Who did he tell the story to?	Wem hot der da die kschichte verzählt?	Wem hotte er denn <u>schtori</u> verzählt?	---	Zu wem hast du <u>story ksa:t</u> zu?	Wer hot den des <u>schtori</u> ksa:t?	Wem hot n der der <u>schtori</u> ksa:t?	Wem hat der den <u>schtori</u> verzählt?
28.	You (all) may not be so silly.	Ihr said net all so <u>dumm</u> un so <u>silly</u> . Sai net so kinnisch.	Ihr misst nicht so kschpassig/ <u>silly</u> sain.	Ihr kennt (all) net schpass mache.	Ihr sin all net kschait.	Ihr said ja net all kschait.	Sai ma net so kschpassig.	Ihr all darft net so nänisch soin.

29.	Our <u>moun- tains</u> aren't very high.	berge berge	berge berge	berge berge	berye berye	berge berge	Unsere <u>mountains</u> <u>sin</u> <u>airich</u> <u>hoch</u> . ("We <u>would use</u> <u>berg</u> for <u>hill</u> ")	berges berges
37	The <u>farmers</u> had brought five oxen ... before the village.	Die <u>bauer</u> <u>hadde</u> ...	Die <u>farmers</u> ham...	De <u>farmer</u> <u>brocht</u> ...	Der <u>farmer</u> <u>hot</u> ...	Die <u>farmer</u> <u>die</u> hen...	Der <u>farmer</u> <u>hat</u> ...	Der <u>farmer</u> <u>hat</u>

Most borrowed nouns are assigned case, gender, and number, even though some inconsistencies are apparent: *die farmer* and *die farmers*, *mit eine brasch* and *mim brosch*. Verbs follow the rules of the German language and receive appropriate prefixes (or do not receive them) depending on the structure of the foreign word: *behave-t* and *gehire-t*. One subject even produced an irregularly formed past participle of the English verb *to behave* - *beho:ft*.

Many subjects fully incorporated new words phonetically by applying the same assimilation and sound shift rules to the English words: *schtori*, *brosh*, and *täibl'*, as in the following example, when speaker even pronounced a soft German /l'/:

*Ihr het net all schtick so:f for mich on my
täibl' ...disch?*

Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on
my table?

Loan translations. Some words were translated through morphemic substitution of its German parts with literal English equivalents.

Sent #	No of informant:	English	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
7.		He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.	Der dut immer <u>sain</u> aier esse <u>mitaus</u> saltz und pewwr.	Ich habe immer aier gegessen <u>mitaus</u> saltz und pewwr. Ich habe immer aier gessen <u>ohnich</u> saltz und pewwr.	Der esst sai aier <u>ohnich</u> saltz und pewwr.	Der esst die aier immer <u>mitaus</u> saltz und pewwr.	Der esst aier <u>mitaus</u> saltz un pewwr. Der esst aier <u>ohnich</u> saltz und pewwr.	Der esst immer aier un use-t kei saltz und pewwr. Der esst aier <u>ohnich</u> saltz und pewwr.	Er esst immer aier ohne saltz un pebbe.
18.		Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off .	un <u>wären</u> wir all <u>besser</u> ap.	Und ich <u>wär</u> <u>besser</u> ap.	un der <u>wär</u> <u>besser</u> ap. gewest.	un er <u>wär</u> <u>besser</u> ap.	un die <u>wäre</u> a ch <u>besser</u> ap.	Un der <u>wär</u> <u>besser</u> ap. gewest.	un er <u>wär</u> <u>besser</u> ap.
25.		The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night...	Der schnee an <u>unsrem</u> <u>platz</u>	Der schnee in <u>userem</u> <u>platz</u>	---	Die schnee onem aier <u>platz</u> ist.	Der schnee hot geschtehe in <u>unserem</u> <u>platz</u>	Der schnee uf <u>unser</u> <u>platz</u>	---
27		Couldn't you (all) wait a moment for us?	warde <u>fer</u> uns	warden das mir alle gehn kenn	warde [gerade ain munut] <u>fer</u> uns	warde wail <u>fer</u> uns	warde <u>fer</u> uns	wade for uns	ain minud wade <u>fer</u> uns

Another example of a loan shift occurred in sentence No 20:

Der macht als von ne den getrot hätt for Er tat so, als hätten sie ihn zum Dreschen
*dresche aber die hen s alles **demselwe** gedue.* bestellt. Sie haben es aber selbst getan.

Semantic borrowing. The German word *zurik* (“back”) received an additional meaning (“ago”) to compensate for the loss of the prepositional construction “*vor*+noun”. Russian employs a similar construction with the word *nazad* (“back”), but translations of the same sentence by von Unwerth’s and Berezina’s (209) informants show that “Russian” Volga Germans consistently use the prepositional construction with *vor*.

Sent. #	No of informant:	1	3	4	5	6	7	8
	English							
7.	He died four or six weeks ago.	Er ist geschtorben vier oder seks woche zurik.	zurik	zurik	zurik	Der ist geschtor we vier oder seks woche ago ... zurik.	zurik	zurik

Syntactic calques

The following examples show how syntactic patterns of English language were copied by the dialect speakers when they had to translate a sentence that included a modal verb and a main verb. The most common type of transfer is modification of the German sentence bracket that requires the main verb to be at the end of the sentence.

Sent. #	No of informant:	1					
		English					
33	His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your garden.	<p>Main bruder will ain neues haus bauen in airem garden.</p> <p>Main bruder will sich schenes haus bauen in mainem garden.</p> <p>Main bruder will e nai haus ...schene haus bauen in aire garden.</p> <p>Dain bruder will zwa: schene haiser bauen in daim garde.</p> <p>Sain bruder will baue zwa: schene houses in sain garde.</p> <p>Main bruder der will zwa: schene haiser baue in daim garde.</p> <p>Dem sain bruder will zwai wundersche ni nai haiser baue in daim ga:tn.</p>					

3.5.8.2 Interference in free speech

When English words are not directly in front of the speakers' eyes, they refer to them mostly when a German word is absolutely unknown:

Lexical borrowings:

Und der Justin... der tut race-car fahre, sprints. Aber ich gleich's net.

And Justin, he does car racing. But I do not like it.

Und der ihr junge is in de airforce und er fliegt den F-16 fighter plane.

And her son is in the airforce, and he flies the F-16 fighter plane.

Such instances may be seen as examples of code switching that is employed by speakers to substitute for lexical gaps in their lexical inventory.

Often, a German word might be known to the dialect speaker, but an English word is chosen in a form, fully assimilated phonetically and/or grammatically:

Mir hen das net geuse-t (ge-used).

We have not used that.

Da war ein schuhschor.

There was s shoe store.

Dem seine fra: die hat ein keschäft, die hat schor, wo die lait sach kawe oder sach rende for de zeit.

His wife has a store/business, she has a store where people buy things or rent them for time.

Phonological integration of the loan words, both in Wenker sentences and free speech, occurs in two major ways: through an approximate adaptation of the sounds or replacement of some of them. The sounds in the words like “*cake*”, “*monkey*”, “*behaved*”, “*basket*”, “*silly*”, and “*plane*” are similar to the speakers' language, so that they can easily be integrated into the dialect's system. Whenever the loanword contains an *-r-*, speakers tend to replace the English approximant with the German trill (*story*, *brush*, *farmer*, *race-car*). With no acoustic analysis performed and solely judged from hearing, it is not always clear, whether the *r*-sound produced

in loanwords by some speakers is a trill or an approximant. This phenomenon is described in Flege (1995), who argued that when two sounds are perceived by bilinguals as instances of the same category, they produce a sound with characteristics of a “compromised” form.

A case of a sound replacement occurred in sentences 17 and 19: some informants pronounced words /brʌʃ/ and /baks/ as /brɔʃ/ and /bɔks/, replacing the English /ʌ/ with an /o/, thus following the usual pattern, as in: Germ. /hat/ – dial. /hɔt/ “has”.

English borrowings that start with *st-* change the initial sound to the palate-alveolar fricative: Engl. *story* – Ger. *schtori*; Engl. *store* – Ger. *schtor*.

Mechanisms of the phonological adaption of Russian and English words show some differences. The sound system of English loan words undergoes fewer changes. For example, it does not show major consistent changes in consonants, like consistent voicing in Russian borrowings. However, some examples showed that it is also possible:

... wo die lait <u>sach</u> kawe oder <u>sach</u> rende for de zeit.	...where people buy things or rent them for time.
Du bist noch net gross genug <u>for a</u> ganze baddl wain zu trinken.	You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine.

English words are adopted in the original form with no change in endings (Russ. *step'* – VGer. *steppe*) or any syntagmatic changes (syncope or epenthesis). This may be attributed to the closer affinity of the two Germanic languages and to the amount of contact with another language.

Morphological assimilation starts with attributing grammatical categories to a word: gender, number, and case for nouns; tense, person, mood, etc. for verbs. Nouns in the examples from the data are being assigned with 1) a gender, which is mostly but not always consistent with the gender of the corresponding German equivalent: *die cake* or *der cake* (*der kuche*); *die schtori* (*die kschichte*); 2) a case that is not systematically used by speakers throughout the data: *mit eine*

brush, is in de airforce; mai basket (geschtohle), die/de schtori ksaat, fliegt den F-16 fighter plane. Some borrowings are used without any article to indicate a case: *die hat schtor, (zaiber) mit brosh.* One word that was used in the plural form showed no English ending: *die farmer.*

The English verbs “to use”, “to hire”, “to behave”, “to bother”, encountered in the data, are assimilated into the speech by applying the rules for the past participle formation. The verb receives a dental suffix and prefix *ge-* or no prefix if verb contains a prefix that is perceived by speakers as inseparable: *mir hen des net geuse-t* (“we did not use it”), *als wo der gehire-t wär* (“as if he was hired”), *du host dich gut behave-t* (“you behaved well”), *des hot uns nicht gebother-t* (“it did not bother us”). It is difficult to say, whether these forms should be treated as “hybrids” containing the English stem and two German affixes (prefix *ge-* and suffix *-t*) or as a “hybrid” that has a German prefix *ge-* and a past participle of an English word. For the former argument, speaks the occurrence of the verb “to use” in the 3rd person singular in the Wenker sentence #6: *Der esst immer ajer un use-t kein salz un pebbr* (“He always eats eggs without salt and pepper”).

Another example from the data shows a no-prefix use of the English-based past participle (*als wo sie ihn hire-t het*) which can be either explained as an instance of code-switching (*als wo sie ihn hired het*) or a case of omitting a prefix in the past participle, as it often occurs in the dialect.

The word *behave-t (behaved)* follows the general German rule of adding no *ge-* when the verb contains a prefix that is perceived by the dialect speakers as inseparable. It also becomes reflexive by analogy with the German *sich betragen*.

The following sentence illustrates the use of an English verb in Infinitive: *der musste for the citizenship applaje (apply-e)* (“he had to apply for the citizenship”). The English word “to apply”

that expectedly is not known to the dialect speakers receives the *-e* ending that is added to the English infinitive.

Loan shifts in free speech.

Several examples of loan translations and semantic borrowings were elicited from the free speech data.

Even though the expression “*wie geht’s?*” was recalled by most subjects as a common greeting in the community, one person named another form that she would use to ask about somebody’s well-being - *wie bist du?* - a loan translation of the English phrase.

The following are examples of *semantic borrowings* when a German word borrows an additional meaning from an English word:

Wa:st du was das meint?

Do you know what that means?

*Und der Justin... der tut race-car
fahre, sprints. Aber ich gleich’s net.*

And Justin...he does car racing. But I do
not like it.

The verb *meinen* (“to believe, to think”) is not used in German with the meaning *bedeuten* (“to stand for”) as the English verb “to mean”, so in this sentence speaker borrowed the meaning “to stand for” from the English verb “to mean”. The use of the German adjective/adverb *gleich* (“like”) as a verb (“to like”) is not only found in the Volga German dialects in Kansas (Russell and Ellis Counties), but is also common in Pennsylvania Dutch and all German-American dialects. Johnson makes a legitimate observation that the verb *gelîchen* (“to like someone”) is attested in Middle High German and thus could have been a part of the dialect before speakers moved to the Volga (87). However, if *gleich* in the meaning “to like” is not used in the dialects

of those Volga Germans who remained in Russia, it would rather speak for the later development of this meaning in the United States.

3.5.8.3 Self-repair

All speakers, both monolinguals and bilinguals, produce errors, so repair mechanism are known virtually to any person. The most common strategy employed by the dialect speakers was the self-initiated self-repair which is reformulation of the trouble-source, e.g., substitution of the English word with its German synonym. All examples come from subjects whose level of proficiency in dialect is very high, so whenever an English word was used first, this strategy was promptly employed:

<i>Sie wollte <u>sure</u> mache... wollte <u>gewiss</u> mache das sie des tue.</i>	She wanted to make sure that they do it.
<i>Der wohnt bei <u>seim</u> <u>da</u>... bei <u>seim</u> faddr jetzet.</i>	He lives with his dad now.
<i>Die tochter un <u>sein</u> mann, die <u>sin</u> <u>farmer</u>, die <u>sin</u> bauer.</i>	The daughter and her husband are farmers.
<i>Schwätzen <u>Sie</u> mit dem <u>Captain</u>. Es ist nicht recht "<u>Capitain</u>". Hauptmann! Schwätzen <u>Sie</u> mit dem Hauptmann.</i>	Talk to the capitain. "Capitain" is not correct. Hauptmann! Talk to the hauptmann.

3.5.9 The borrowing scale

Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 74-76) developed a borrowing scale that shows a hierarchy of structural features that are borrowed by a language in a certain order. It suggests that with an

increasing amount of “cultural pressure” and contacts with speakers of the superordinate language, certain features are borrowed before the others. This scale is presented below:

- 1) Lexical borrowing only. Casual contacts result in lexical borrowings only with a rule that non-basic vocabulary is borrowed before basic vocabulary. Content words are being borrowed for cultural and functional rather than typological reasons.
- 2) Slight structural borrowing. Slightly more intense contact causes slight structural borrowing. At this stage, some functional words such as conjunctions and various adverbial particles may be borrowed in addition to minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features. New phonemes may occur in loanwords only.
- 3) More intense structural borrowing. More intense contact brings slightly more structural borrowing which includes function words (prepositions, postpositions), personal and demonstrative pronouns, and low numerals. Derivational affixes of borrowed words may be added to native vocabulary. Inflectional affixes may occur but they will be confined to borrowed items. On the phonological level, it may include phonemicization of previously allophonic alternations and adapting stress rules. On the syntactic level, some switches other than SVO to SOV can be found, e.g., borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional language and vice versa.
- 4) Moderate structural borrowing. Strong cultural pressure leads to moderate structural borrowing. Introduction of new distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in native vocabulary; new syllable structure constraints; a few natural allophonic and automatic morphophonemic rules (palatalization or final obstruent devoicing). Fairly extensive word order changes. Inflectional affixes, new cases may be borrowed.

- 5) Heavy structural borrowing. Very strong cultural pressure results in heavy structural borrowings and concerns major structural features that cause significant typological disruption: phonetic changes (habits of articulation, including allophonic alternations); changes in word structure (changing from flexional to agglutinative morphology).

Both in the Wenker sentences and in free speech, lexical borrowings constitute the largest part of all instances of interference. No evidence exists of phonetical, morphological, or syntactical changes in the Milberger dialect caused by the Russian language. Thus, it can be argued that the influence of Russian on the Volga German dialects before 1876 did not extend past the first stage of this scale that presupposes a “minimum of cultural pressure”.⁷² Even though Georg Dinges claimed to have found over 800 Russian loan words that were borrowed before 1876, those words could have been occasional borrowings that could be spread unevenly between the colonies. It is hard to imagine that such a large number of loanwords could be lost so fast after settlers came to the United States.

The English influence can be placed at stage two (“slight structural borrowing”), even though some prepositions (“of” and “for”) occurred in the speech of the informants, which Thomason and Kaufman attribute to stage three.

3.6 Conclusion

In a language contact situation, language loss is not uncommon. However, some languages vanish and others continue to be maintained in similar socio-linguistic circumstances. In Milberger, various factors lead to a *terminally endangered (moribund)* state of the dialect that it

⁷² Under “cultural pressure” authors understand “any combination of social factors that promotes borrowing, e.g., prestige or economic forces that make bilingualism necessary” (77).

is experiencing today. Following the model proposed by Sasse, I explored the extralinguistic factors (*External Setting*) that triggered and later supported the process of language decay in Milberger. These factors included WWII, mobility of young people, increasing amount of mixed marriages, and renunciation of the church services in German.

In terms of cause and speed, the language loss situation in Milberger can be classified as a gradual language shift, a process that usually starts with bilingualism and ends in a replacement of one language with another, as exemplified in the model put forward by Boni. Even though Boni's classification was intended for the relationship of German and Russian in a bilingual situation on the Volga, the same steps would be relevant in a description of the Milberger dialect. Bilingualism in Milberger is accompanied by a special type of diglossia that is common for sectarian communities - a complimentary distribution of the dialect and the standard German, as it was acquired at Sunday school and in church. Multiple examples show that knowledge of Standard German interferes with informants' speech, causing frequent occurrence of non-dialectal forms. Example of Informant 4, who learned dialect without being exposed to the "church language", showed that her language was free of instances of the High German interference, such as "ending *-n* in verb infinitives and past participles or "correct" plurals.

In a situation of a language contact, interference is inevitable. According to Thomason and Kaufman, it is triggered by the extralinguistic factors, such as length of contacts, accessibility of another language, its prestige, cultural pressure, etc. First instances of interference between languages occur on a lexical level in a form of loanwords and loan shifts (e.g., loan translations and semantic borrowings).

Dinges claimed that he found around 800 Russian words that entered the Volga German dialects before 1876. However, the longest list of Russian borrowings collected by Judge Ruppenthal in

Russell, Kansas (1913) contains around 50 words. Some of these words, however, might have been part of the dialect prior to the immigration, since a few of them were documented in Grimm's German Dictionary or in paperwork produced by German Chancelleries, and many existed as Russian borrowings in Baltic German in the 18th century. Thus, Germans might have borrowed even fewer words on the Volga than previously suggested.

The borrowing scale proposed by Thomason and Kaufman places the amount of cultural pressure that German experienced in Russia at the beginning stage, when only vocabulary is borrowed from one language into another. Interference from the English language expectedly exceeded the lexical level and can be placed at stage two, where languages borrow "minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features".

4. Final conclusion

Dialectology sparked Zhirmunski's interest for two reasons: first, German dialects in speech islands offered a great opportunity to observe linguistic changes in "real time", i.e., within one generation. The second reason was a concern that speech island dialects could soon cease to exist due to political pressure from the outside and thus this unique opportunity for observation of language mechanisms will no longer be available (Aumüller 299). Even though he voiced his concerns decades ago, same reasons still inspire researchers who start fieldwork studies on Volga German dialects. These dialects in their current state became even more complex due to more extensive contacts with the surrounding language (both in Russia and in America) and to the additional waves of convergence with other dialects during the mass deportations of Germans from Volga villages to remote places in Siberia or Central Asia. The latter is probably responsible for discrepancies in conclusions of Russian and American researchers concerning the linguistic homeland of studied dialects. Russian linguists note that a dialect spoken in the village in question no longer has a direct resemblance either to any mother colony on the Volga or to a particular German dialect (Baykova 143; Moskalyuk 65-67). On the contrary, findings of American linguists suggest that researched dialects in Kansas often preserve all major features of the initial German dialect (Keel 1981; Johnson 1994). This study came to the conclusion that language spoken by descendants of the settlers from the mother colonies of Kratzke and Holstein preserved all features peculiar to these two places on the Volga, as they are attested in the WDSA. This fact is not surprising considering that both Kratzke and Holstein, even though located quite far away from each other, had same linguistic characteristics, as shown on the *Sprachkarte der deutschen Wolgakolonien von Georg Dinges* (WDSA 9). Their differences

included just presence or absence of palatalization in the consonant combination *-st* (*host* and *hoscht*) in addition to several lexical items.

Some last names of people from Milberger can be traced back to the old lists of immigrants who arrived in Kratzke in 1767. Surprisingly, the majority of people with these last names came from the South Hessian area, south of Frankfurt.

Zhirmunski's discussion of the Central-Hessian koine and the semi-dialect of Darmstadt demonstrates that Milberger dialect shows all features common for Darmstadt and the whole Central Franconian area, from where ancestors of many current speakers originated.

Thus, despite some unusual features (assimilation of "nasal+stop+trill"), this dialect shows a clear resemblance to a particular area in Germany. However, it may be the point for further discussion, if these features were preserved by the dialect speakers over centuries or if the dialect developed a koine by eliminating primary features that settlers from different regions brought to the Volga River, thus employing the same mechanisms, as they are described by Zhirmunski.

Another difference between the Milberger dialect and the Volga German dialects in Russia lies in the area of its spread and use in the community. The Milberger dialect in the twenty-first century is preserved in the memories of senior citizens who do not actively use it in the everyday communication, whereas recent dissertations by Russian linguists suggest that dialect is used by members of the Volga German communities quite actively (Alexandrov 150; Baykova 144; Frolova 64) and is mostly threatened by continuous immigration to Germany.⁷³ The Milberger dialect, on the contrary, is no longer used actively, nor is it being passed on to new generations. Language loss in Milberger can be attributed to several factors, such as English-speaking

⁷³ This might be attributed to traditional tolerance of bilingualism in Russia, where numerous ethnoses in Siberia and in the South have been bilingual for hundreds of years.

spouses, the switch to English in churches, the mobility of young people, and political and cultural pressure from the outside.

As shown with the help of the borrowing scale by Thomasson and Kaufmann, the amount of Russian influence on the German dialect was scarce and never passed stage one, when only lexical items are borrowed into the subordinate language. It is even more surprising, considering that Germans lived on the Volga for over hundred years. This fact clearly supports the theory of Thomason and Kaufman that structural changes in a language correlate with the amount of cultural pressure that a particular language receives from the outside.

Researchers of modern Volga German dialects show that since the amount of Russian influence has increased, the dialects have started to experience more structural and phonological changes (the appearance of Russian phonemes, semantic and syntactic loanshifts, use of Russian particles and whole phrases). The same phenomenon of going from minimal pressure and lexical borrowings to strong cultural pressure and more intense structural borrowing can be observed in Milberger.

Comparing Russian borrowings in the Milberger dialect with data on Russian borrowings in Baltic German shows that some words encountered in Kansas could have been borrowed by the settlers prior to immigration from Russian or other Slavic languages. The discussion showed that some words were known in parts of Germany in the eighteenth century and earlier. However, the lack of linguistic data on early borrowings in German dialects does not allow a definitive conclusion to be drawn.

A distinctive feature of the Milberger dialect is a special type of diglossia that is common for sectarian communities, e.g., a complimentary distribution between High German in church and the dialect at home. Most likely, the diglossial situation helped preserving the Dative case in

Milberger, which is a quite uncommon feature for dialects. The data shows that the knowledge of standard German causes the subconscious use of standard forms in the dialect. Even those who pointed out the distinction between “correct” and “our” forms (*ich habe* and *ich hun*) often used High German forms in their speech. Immediate self-correction (*geschtorben...kschtorwe*) suggested that both forms are present in the speakers’ vocabulary.

Thus, this study has provided a description of a Volga German dialect that has never been studied before. The analysis of its phonology and morphology has demonstrated that this dialect has preserved all major features from languages spoken in the corresponding villages on the Volga and in a particular area in Germany, from where their ancestors reportedly originated.

A suggestion for further research is a comparative study of the Milberger dialect with a dialect spoken by “Russian” descendants of former inhabitants of Kratzke or Holstein. Such study could allow comparing the mechanism of language change in different environments.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Informed Consent Statement

The Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Kansas supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in a linguistic study of the Volga German dialects of Kansas. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

The purpose of this study is to record and analyze the Volga-German dialect spoken in the Lutheran community in Russell (and Barton) county.

You will participate in an interview lasting about two hours. During the interview you will be asked to translate words and sentences from English into your dialect. With your permission you will be recorded. Please indicate whether you agree to being recorded in the space below.

By participating in this study you will be playing a part in the preservation of a Volga-German dialect in Kansas.

Your participation is solicited although strictly voluntary. Your name will not be associated in any way with the research findings. Your interview will be identified by a code number.

Sincerely,

Maria Khramova
University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kansas 66045

Signature of Person agreeing to participate

Date

By signing, you certify that you are at least 18 years of age

My dialect interview may be recorded _____YES _____NO

APPENDIX 2.

Questionnaire on Informant's background.

Name_____

Year and place of birth_____

Address_____

1. How strongly would you identify yourself as a Volga German or German American?☐strongly ☐moderately ☐not at all**2. Why?**

3. How much do you know about the origin of your ancestors?☐much ☐little**4. Ancestors:**

	Name	Year of birth	Place of birth	What place in <u>Russia</u> did this person or his/her family come from?
Father				
Paternal Grandfather				
Paternal Grandmother				
Paternal Great Grandfather 1				
Paternal Great Grandmother 1				
Paternal Great Grandfather 2				
Paternal Great Grandmother 2				

	Name	Year of birth	Place of birth	What place in <u>Russia</u> did this person or his/her family come from?
Mother				
Maternal Grandfather				
Maternal Grandmother				
Maternal Great Grandfather 1				
Maternal Great Grandmother 1				
Maternal Great Grandfather 2				
Maternal Great Grandmother 2				

5. When did your ancestors emigrate from Russia?

Name	Approximate Year	Place in Russia	Place in Germany

6. What German traditions were celebrated in your family?

7. What language did you learn first?

8. Whose language did you pick up the most (your father's, your mother's, grandfather's, grandmother's)?

9. How different were the German dialects spoken in your family?

10. Have you had any formal German language training?

11. Did you attend German language services in German?

12. When did those services end?

13. Do other members of your family speak your German dialect?

	SPEAKING		UNDERSTANDING	
	well	little	well	little
Self	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spouse	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Brother(s)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sister(s)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Father	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother-in-Law	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Father-in-Law	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Paternal grandmother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Paternal grandfather	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal grandmother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maternal grandfather	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. What language did you speak with your spouse?

15. Did he speak a similar dialect?

16. Did you have any specific words that your spouse said differently? Did you start speaking like your spouse or did s/he pick up your way?

17. Do you speak your German dialect with anybody from your community or family? Does it happen in any specific situations? Does it happen often?

18. Do you see any advantages or disadvantages of speaking German?

19. Do you use any German words or expressions while speaking English?

20. Did you ever feel discriminated because you were a German dialect speaker?

21. How close was the contact of your community to other Lutheran Volga German communities?

22. How close was the contact of your community to the Catholic Volga German communities?

23. Did you have any nicknames for the members of other communities?

Thank you very much! I appreciate your help!

APPENDIX 3. Questionnaire that was used for Wenker sentences. Informants had to translate English sentences into German.⁷⁴

1. In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.

2. It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.

3. Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.

4. The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.

5. He died four or six weeks ago.

⁷⁴ This page shows a short version of the questionnaire to give an idea how it looked like. All forty Wenker sentences are presented in Appendix 4.

APPENDIX 4. Wenker sentences from Milberger, Kansas.

Informant	Year of Birth	Gender	Year of the interview
1.	1924	Female	2007
2.	1926	Female	2007
3.	1917	Male	2008
4.	1925	Female	2008
5.	1924	Male	2008
6.	1925	Female	2008
7.	1926	Female	2008
8.	1934	Male	1990s, 2007

**1. Im Winter fliegen die trockenen Blätter in der Luft herum.
In the winter the dry leaves fly around in the air.**

1. Im winder die drugneli bledder fliehe rum in de luft.
2. ---
3. Im winder da fliehe de drukle bledder in de luft.
4. Die drukle bledder fliehe rum in der luft.
5. Im winder die drukne bledder fliehe in de(r) luft rum.
6. ---
7. Im winder die drugle bledder die fliehe rum in der luft.
8. Im windr sin die drugni bleddr viel in der luft rumfloge.

**2. Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.
It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will get better again.**

1. Das wetje bal ufhe:re schneje un no wert des wedder viel besser.
2. ---
3. Des wetje bal ufhe:r schneje(n) dann wart das weddr wiedr besser.
4. Des wats bal ufhe:re schneje un wedder wert besser wieder.
5. ---
6. Des wedder des wert besser once ufhe:rt zu schneje.
7. Des dut bal ufhe:re zu schneje u no werd s weddr besser.
8. Ganz bal hert zu zu schneje no wer des weddr besser.

**3. Tu Kohlen in den Ofen, daß die Milch bald an zu kochen fängt.
Put coals into the stove, so that the milk will start to boil soon.**

1. Tu di kohle in owe sodas die milich bal ańfange due zu koche.
2. ---
3. Du die kohle in owen so die milich ańfängt koche.
4. Du kohle in owe das die milich grell koche / kocht.
5. Tu kohle in owe so das die milich viel koche.
6. Tu de holz in owe so das die milich fńngt a zu koche.
7. Du mal kohle in den owe, das die milich ōnfńngt koche dut.
8. Du mal doch mal kohle in owe so das di milich bal kocht.

4. Der gute alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.

The good old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.

1. Der gude alde mann is durchs ais gebroche mit saim gaul un is ins kalde wasser gefalle.
2. ---
3. Der gude alde mann fallt durchs ais mit dene gaul und fallt inde des kalde wasser.
Der gude alde mann is durchs ais kfalle.
4. Dese gude alde mann der is durch de ais kfalle mit saim gaul in de kalt wasser.
5. Der gude alde mann is durch de ais gebroche mit saim gaul un is in de kalde wasser kfalle.
6. Der alde mann der is durch die ais gebroche mit saim gaul un der is in das kalde wasser kfalle.
7. Der gude monn ist durchs ais gebroche un sein gaul is uf ihn gefalle in de kalde wasser.
8. Der gude olde man isch durchs ais gebroche mit sai gaul u in des kalde wasser gfalle.

5. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.

He died four or six weeks ago.

1. Er ist geschtorben vier oder seks woche zurik.
2. ---
3. Er ist geschtorben vier or seks wochen zurik.
4. Der ist geschtorbe vier oder seks woche zurik
5. Der ist geschtorwe vier oder seks woche zurik.
6. Der ist geschtorwe vier oder seks woche ago... zurik.
7. Der ist geschtorwe vier oder seks woche zurik.
8. Er isch kschtorbe vier oder sechs woche zurik.

**6. Das Feuer war zu stark. Die Kuchen sind ja unten ganz schwarz gebrannt.
The fire was too hot. The cakes are burned black on the bottom.**

1. Das fajer war so ha:s. Der kuche war schwarz gebrennt unne.
2. ---
3. Das fajer war so ha:s. Die cakes ware verbrennt schwarz unne on dem bottom.
4. Das fajer war zu ha:s. Die cakes sin schwarz gebrennt unne.
5. Des fajer war ha:s. Die cakes die sin schwarz gebrennt unne.
6. Des fajer war ha:s. Die kuche die sin gebrennt unne.
7. Das fajer war zu ha:s. De cake is verbrennt ganz schwarz on the bottom.
De cake is verbrennt ganz schwarz unne.
Der cake is ganz schwarz gebrennt unne.
8. Des fajer war zu ha:s.

**7 Er ißt die Eier immer ohne Salz und Pfeffer.
He always eats eggs without salt and pepper.**

1. Der dut immer sain ajer esse mitaus salz und pewwr.
2. ---
3. Ich habe immer ajer essen mit salz und pewwr.
Ich habe immer ajer gegessen mitaus salz und pewwr.
Ich habe immer ajer gessen ohnich salz und pewwr.
4. Der esst sai ajer ohnich salz und pewwr.
5. Der esst die ajer immer mitaus salz und pewwr..
6. Der esst ajer mitaus salz un pewwr.
7. Der esst immer ajer un use-t kei salz und pewwr. Der esst ajer ohnich salz und pewwr.
8. Er esst immer ajer ohne salz un pebbe.

**8 Die Füße tun mir sehr weh. Ich glaube, ich habe sie durchgelaufen.
My feet hurt so much. I believe, I have walked them off.**

1. Mai fi:s hemmr so weh gedue. Ich glab ich hun sie bal abgelowe.
2. ---
3. Mai fi:s tun so schmerz. Ich glab ich muss ufhe:ren zu lowen.
4. Mai fi:s tu weh. Ich denk, ich hebb dem abgelowe.
5. Mai fi:s tu zu weh. Ich denk, ich hun sie abgelawe.
6. Mai fi:s die tun so weh. Ich denk, ich hun sie abgelowe.
7. Mai fi:s tu so weh. Ich denk, ich hun zu viel gelofe.
8. Mai fies den me zo wehi. I gla:b i hon se baide abgelowe.

9. Ich bin bei der Frau gewesen und habe es ihr gesagt, und sie sagte, sie wollte es auch ihrer Tochter sagen.

I was at the woman's and told it to her, and she said, she wanted to tell it to her daughter too.

1. Ich war bai der fra: und hat der gesa:t und die sa:t, sie wollt s ihr tochter ach sa:.
2. ---
3. Ich war bai der fra: und sachte zu her ...ihr und sie sa:t ich wollte mainer tochter das sachen tu.
4. Ich war at de fra:s und het der gesa:t und die sa:t sie wollt ich zu sa: zu ihr tochter to.
5. Ich war bai der fra: und han jetzt gesa:t und sie sa:t sie wolld s zu ihr tochter sa:.
6. Ich war bai der fra: und ich hun dr gesa:t ... ich hunrd was gesa:t sie soll sa: ihre tochter.
7. Ich war bai fra: und hun ihr ksa:t das sie ihr tochter sa: soll.
Ich war bai fra: und hun ihr ksa:t sie soll ihrer tochter sa:.
8. Ich war bai de fra: un hat ihr ksa:kt und sie hat gesa:kt sie will aoch ihrer dochter s verzähle.

**10. Ich will es auch nicht mehr wieder tun.
I also don't want to do it ever again.**

1. Ich will des niemals wieder due.
2. Ich will des niemals wieder due.
3. Ich will das niemals wieder due.
4. Niemals des will ich des iwer due.
5. Ich will es nerbe tue.
6. Ich tu es net meh.
Net meh tu ich des.
7. Ich will s net meh due.
8. Ich will des a: niemols wiede don.

**11. Ich schlage dich gleich mit dem Kochlöffel um die Ohren, du Affe!
I am going to hit you around the ears with a wooden spoon, you monkey!**

1. Ich schlagr um die ohre rum, mit nem holzene lewwel, du aff!
2. ---
3. Ich werd dir auf die ohren hauen mit ainem holzenes lewwel, du monkey...du aff!
4. Ich will dir schlage um die ohre mit nem holzene lewwel, du aff!
5. Ich will di schlage uf die ohre mit ainem holzene lewwel, du aff!
6. Ich schlagr in die ohre nai mit dem holzliche lewwel, du monkey!
7. Ich schlag dai ohr mit nem holzene lewwel, du monkey!
8. I schlag di um di ohre rum mit den hilzene lewwel, du off!

**12. Wo gehst du hin? Sollen wir mit dir gehen?
Where are you going? Shall we go with you?**

1. Wo willstste higehe? Soll ich mit dir gehe?
2. ---
3. Wo willstste hi:? Soll ich mit dir gehe?
4. Wo will du hi:? Sollen mer mit dir gehe?
5. Wo gehst du hi:? Sollen mer mit di gehe?
Soll ich mitgehen?
6. Wo gehst du hi:? Sollen mer mit dir gehe?
7. Wo will du higehe? Sollen mir mit dir gehe?
8. Wo gehstu denn no? Sellen wi ao gehe?

**13. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.
The times are bad.**

1. Oh, die zaide sin so schwer.
2. ---
3. Die zaide werje hart.
Die zait werden hart.
4. Des sind allerwaile harte zait.
5. Die zaide sin hart.
6. Oh, die zaid is so hart.
7. Oh, die zaide sin schlimm.
8. Di zaide sin do so schlimm.

**14. Mein liebes Kind, bleib hier unten stehen, die bösen Gänse beißen dich tot.
My dear child, stay down here. Those mean geese will bite you to death.**

1. Main liebes kind blaib do drunne. Die bese gens die baisse dich tot.
2. ---
3. Main liebes kind blaibe dahin. Die garschtige gens werren dich baissen zu death...
zum tod.
4. Main kind blaib drunne.

Main kint blaib do. Die gens wolle baisse aich zu tod.

Die garschtige gens wolle aich baisse bis em tod.
5. Main kind blaib dorunne. Die bese gens die baisse dich tot.
6. Mai darle kind blaib do. Die gense die baisse dich tot.

Die bese gens die baisse dich tot.
7. Mai lieb kind blaib do. Die gense die baisse dich tot.
8. Liebes kind, blaib doch dort. Die gaschtigi genz di baisse dir bis du tod bisch.

**15. Du hast heute am meisten gelernt und bist artig gewesen. Du darfst früher nach Hause gehen als die anderen.
You learned the most today and were well-behaved. You may go home earlier than the others.**

1. Du host hait viel gelernt und warst so braw. Du konnst jetzt hom gehe viel fri:er als wie die andere.
2. ---
3. Du hast gut gelernt heute und warst well-behave...beho:ft.

Du hast gut gelernt heute und warst well-behaved. Und du kannst fri: hom gehe.
4. Gelernt alles hait un war gut behaved. Ihr kennt ha:m gehe fri:er wie die andere.
5. Du hast mehrst gelernt und war well-behaved. Du kannst jetzt ha:m gehe fri:er als die andere.

6. Du hast dich gut behave-t hait. Du kannst jetzt mit dene ho:m gehe eh die andere tue.
7. Du hoscht viel gelernt heute und host noch behave-t. Du kann jetzt ho:m gehe mit dene andere.

Du kannst fri:er ho:m gehe.
8. Du hascht ... glernt hai und hascht gud betrage. Du darfscht fri:e ha:m gehe als di andre.

**16. Du bist noch nicht groß genug, um eine Flasche Wein auszutrinken. Du mußt erst noch etwas wachsen und größer werden.
You aren't big enough to drink a whole bottle of wine. You have to grow some more first and get bigger.**

1. Du bist net gross genug zum waindringe. Du must erscht viel gresser werre.
2. Du bist nicht gross genug zum waindrinken. Du must gresser werre erscht und must gresser waksen.
3. Du bist noch net gross genug for a ganze baddl wain zu trinken. Du must noch waksen erscht un gresser werre.
4. Ihr said net gross genug zum dringe e ganze boddl of wain. Ihr misst noch wakse erscht.

Ihr misst erst in die he: wakse und misst grosser werre.
5. Du bist noch net gross genug zum dringe e ganze boddl wain. Du must noch erst gresser werre.
6. Du bisch net gross genug zu e boddel wain dringe. Du musch noch gresser werre.
7. Du bisch noch net alt genug for des zu dringe.

Du bisch noch net alt genug for bottl mit wain dringe. Du muscht noch mej wakse und gresser werre.
8. Du bisch noch nej gross genug zum ein gonze boddl wain dringe. Du muscht noch mej wakse un greisser werde.

17. Geh, sei so gut und sag deiner Schwester, sie sollte die Kleider für eure Mutter fertig nähen und mit der Bürste rein machen.

Go, be so good and tell your sister she should finish sewing the clothes for your mother and clean them with a brush.

1. Geh und sai gut und sa: dair schwester sie soll die sache erscht nähe for dai mama un saiber mit der gut berscht.

2. ---

3. Go, sai so gut un schwätze zu dainer schwester sie soll fertig [...] nähen das kla:d ...das klaid for daine mudder geh und saibern den mit der berscht.

Go sa: dainer schwester sie soll das klaid fertig machen sodas daine mudder un berscht es mit de berscht.

4. Geh un fass das so gut un sa:t airer schwester die misst ... die soll erscht des fertig mache nähe sa:t for aire mudder and ...un not saiwer den mit e berscht.

5. Geh un sa: sainer schwester sie soll sache erscht nähe for dain moddr und saibre sie mit e berscht.

6. Geh sai gut zu dainer schwester und sa: sie soll fertig nähe die kla:d for daine mudder und saiwer mit aine brasch.

Sai so gut und sa: iwer dai schwester sie soll ihre kla:d fertig nähe for daine mudder un saiwer mit de berscht.

7. Geh und sa: dair schwester sie muss das kla:d fertig mache for dai modder und muss sach saiber in brosh.

Sai mol so gut un sa: dai schwester die soll das nähe fertig mache for daine mudder un dann muscht a:ch saiber mim brosch.

Musch gut sai.

8 Geh mol und sai gu:t un sag s deine schweste sie soll di kla:de fertig nahe fo deine mudder un sie saiber mit de bescht.

18. Hättest du ihn gekannt! Dann wäre es anders gekommen, und es täte besser um ihn stehen.

If only you had known him! Things would have turned out differently and he would be better off.

1. Wonn dich bloss besser gekennt hätte wär alles viele besser worre un wären wir all besser ap.
2. ---
3. Wann ich das gewisst hät wär alles besser ausgedreht worden. Und ich wär besser ap.
4. Wann ir ...sich gekennt häd, alles wär awerscht ausgedreht un der wär besser ap gewest.
5. Wenn s ihr ihn besser gekennt häst, wär des besser kwest un er wär besser ap.
6. Wenn ich bloss das kind kenne hätt, die dinge die wäre anrscht un die wäre a:ch besser ap.
7. Häscht du donn ihn gekennt, do wär alles anwerscht gewest un anschter un besser gewest.

Wonn du bloss den gekennt häscht un no wär alles anschter geworre. Un der wär besser ap gewest.
8. Wann du s bloss gwisst häst no wär s alles ondres worre un er wär bessr ap.

19. Wer hat mir meinen Korb mit Fleisch gestohlen?

Who stole my basket of meat?

1. Wer hat dann mai korb of flasch geschtohle?
2. ---
3. Wer hot main korb flasch geschtohlen?

Wer hot mai korb for meat...flasch geschtohle?
4. Wer hot unden korb of flasch kschtohle?
5. Hast main bäsket of flasch geschtohle?

6. Wer hot main baks of flasch geschtohle?
7. Wer hot mai flasch genumme von den baks oder bäsket?
Wer hot mai bäsket of flasch genumme?
8. Wer hat main koreb flasch geschtohle?

**20. Er tat so, als hätten sie ihn zum Dreschen bestellt. Sie haben es aber selbst getan.
He acted as if they had hired him for the threshing; but they did it themselves.**

1. Der hot gemacht als wo die den bedient hedde for de wa:sdresche, aber die sin goñ un hen selber gedue.
2. ---
3. Er hat gemacht als hätten sie gehire-t for des dresche, aber sie haben selbst geduen.
4. Der macht als von ne den getrot hätt for dresche aber die hen s alles demselwe gedue.
5. Der hot gemocht so won die ihn (hen) hired hett for tresche, aber die hen s selbst gedue.
6. Der hat so gemacht als sie hätten den gehire-t for dresche, aber die hen s selber gedue.
7. Der macht so als wonn der gehire-t wär worr for dresche, aber die hen s selbet gedue.
8. Er hat so gemacht sowon er ihn gedient hätt fur dresche. Aber er hat s no selbet gedon.

21. Wem hat er die neue Geschichte erzählt?**Who did he tell the new story to?**1. Wem hot der da die kschichte verzählt?

2. ---

3. Wem hotte er denn sctori verzählt?

4. ---

5. Zu wem host du des ksa:t?

Zu wem hast du story ksa:t zu?

6. Wer hot den des sctori ksa:t?

7. Wem hot n der der sctori ksa:t?

8. Wem hat der den sctori verzählt?

22. Man muß laut schreien, sonst versteht er uns nicht.**One must shout loudly, otherwise he doesn't understand us.**1. Da muss man ja so laut graische arschter det da das dot net verschtehe.

...oder det ma des net verschtehe.

2. ---

3. Man musset laud schwätzen sonst verschteht sie nicht.

4. ---

5. Du must lauder schwätze oder die verschtehe uns net.

Man muss se: graische ander [...]6. Du muss mo graische oder kenn ich net he:re, kenn ich net verschtehe.

7. Du muscht laud schwätze oder kann der dich net verschtehe.

8. Ir mist (mir muss) lauder schreje oder den se uns net verschtehe.

23. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.

We are tired and thirsty.

1. Mir ɣin mi:d un dorschtig.
2. ---
3. Ich bin mi:d un durschtig.
4. ---
5. Ich bin mi:d un durschtig.
6. Ich bin mi:d un dorschtig.
7. Ich bin mi:d und ich bin dorschtig.
Mir ɣin mi:d un dorschtig.
8. Mir ɣin mi:d un dorschtig.

24. Als wir gestern abend zurückkamen, da lagen die anderen schon zu Bett und waren fest am schlafen.

When we got home last night, the others were already lying in bed and were fast asleep.

1. Wie mon hom komm die letzte nacht da war die andren schon all ...die hen schon alle im bett geleje un hen ɔ gut geschlawe...kschlowe.
2. ---
3. Wie mir haim komme gester owen da war die andere schon im bett un hen geschlafen.
4. ---
5. [...] immer mit nach dem ha:m kommt ware schon im bett [geleje] un henne schon geschlowe.
6. Wie ich scho ha:m kumm geschter owent da hen die anderen...hen schon im bett geleje un geschlowe schon.

7. Wie mir ho:m sin gekomme letschti nacht, da hen die andere schon all geschlowe.
Waren schon alle im bett (geleje) und all geschlowe.
- 8 We mir geschter oben hom komme sin, sin di andere schon im bett glege un
hinschlowe.

25. Der Schnee ist diese Nacht bei uns liegen geblieben, aber heute morgen ist er geschmolzen.

The snow at our place stayed on the ground last night, but it melted this morning.

1. Der schnee an unsrem platz war um grund letzten abend, aber hait morjet war schon
alles vergönge.
2. ---
3. Der schnee in userem platz war geblieben... war auf de erd geblieben gester obend,
aber jetzt ist er vergöngen.
4. ---
5. Die schnee onem aier platz ist er...gebliebe letzte nacht, aber s is verda:t hait morjet.
6. Der schnee hot geschtehe in unserem platz gester obent aber hait mojt der war
verda:t.
7. Der schnee da war die gonze nacht un nur hait mojt is er vergänge.

Der schnee war uf de erd uf unsrem platz.

Der schnee uf unser platz war uf de erd di ganze nacht na hait mojt ist es vergänge.
- 8 Der schnee war uwm grund gebliebe gestr obet aba hait mojd isch s weda:.

**26. Hinter unserem Haus stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit roten Äpfelchen.
Behind our house stand three beautiful little apple trees with little red apples.**

1. Hinnich unserm haus schteht drai sche:ne glaine äbblbeim mit schene rode äbbl.
2. ---
3. Hinnich unserm haus schtehe drai schene [klaine] äbblboime mit glane rode äbbl.
4. ---
5. Hinderm ungre haus schtehe drai sche:ne äbblbeim mit glaine rode äbbl.
6. Hire als unger haus schteht drai schene äbblbeim un die hen rode äbbels.
klaine äbbel.
7. O hinnich em unser haus schtehen drai äbblbeim un die hen all glane rode äbbl.
8. Hinder(m) unserm haos schtehn drai wunderscheni glani äpfelbeim mit glani rodi
äpfel.

**27. Könnt ihr nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten? Dann gehen wir mit euch.
Couldn't you (all) wait a moment for us? Then we will go with you.**

1. Kennt ihr net alle bissje warde fer uns? Na gehma mit aich.
2. ---
3. Kennt ihr nicht warden das mir alle gehn kenn?
4. Kunnt ihr net all warde [gerade ain munut] fer uns? Nu werren mer all gomm.
5. Kennt ihr net all warde wail fer uns. Nu gehn mir mid aich.
6. Kennt ihr net warde fer uns? Na gehn mir all mit aich.
7. Kennt ihr net bissje wade for uns? Na kenn mer all zusammen gehe.
8. Kennscht du net ain minud wade fer uns? No gehn mir mid aich.

28. Ihr dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben.

You (all) may not be so silly.

1. Ihr said net all so dumm un so silly.
Sai net so kinnisch.
2. ---
3. Ihr misst nicht so kschpassig sain.
4. Ihr kennt (all) net schpass mache.
5. Ihr sin all net kschait.
6. Ihr said ja all verrickt. Ihr said ja net all kschait.
7. Said net so kschait. Sai ma net so dumm. Sai ma net so kschpassig.
8. Ihr all darft net so närrisch soin.

29. Unsere Berge sind nicht sehr hoch. Die euren sind viel höher.

Our mountains aren't very high. Yours are much higher.

1. Unsre berge sin net airich hoch. Aber aire sin viel hejer.
2. Die higel sin...
3. Unsere berge sin viel hejer wie aire sind.
4. Die berge sin net ...unsere sin viel hejer.
5. Unsre berye sin net airich hoch. Aire berye sin viel hejer.
6. Unsere berge die sin net airich hoch. Aire sin hoyer.
7. Unsere mountains sin airich hoch. Daine sin net so hoch. Aire sin viel gresser.
8. Unser berges sin net a:r hoch. Aire sin viel hejer.

30. Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brot wollt ihr haben?
How many pounds of sausage and how much bread did you all want?

1. Wieviel punt wurscht und wieviel brot wollt ihr all?
2. ---
3. Wieviel punt wurscht und wieviel brot wollen sie?
4. Wieviel pfunt worsche und kuche will se mer hon?
5. Wieviel punt wurscht un wieviel brot wollt ihr?
6. Wiewiel punt of wurscht un wiewiel kuche wollst du?
7. Wieviel punt worsche will du und wieviel kuche will du?
8. Wieviel fund wurscht un wieviel fund brot det ihr gern han? (wollt ihr hun)

31. Ich verstehe euch nicht. Ihr müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen.
I don't understand you (all). You must speak a little louder

1. Ich verschtehe aich net all. Ihr misst lauder schpreche. Ihr misst lauder schwätze.
2. ---
3. Ich tu das nicht verschtehe. Nu must lauder schwätzen.
4. Ich verschtehe aich net all. Ihr misst lauder schwätze.
5. Ich verschtehe aich net all. Ihr misst lauder schwätze.
6. Ich kann dich net verschtehe. Ich kann aich net verschtehe. Ihr misst lauder schwätze.
7. Ich he:r dich net. Du muscht lauder schwätze.
8. Ich konn aich net verschtehe. Ir misst lauder schwätze.

**32. Habt ihr kein Stückchen (weiße) Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?
Didn't you (all) find a piece of soap for me on my table?**

1. Het ihr net en schtick sa:f for mich an maim disch?
Het ihr net all en schtick sa:f kfunne for uns on unserem disch?
2. ---
3. Haben sie nicht ain schtickjen sa:f gefunnen auf dem tisch?
4. Ihr het net all schtick so:f for mich on my täibl' ...disch?
Ihr het net schtigel sa:f kfunne for mich on my disch?
5. Hen mer all en schtick sa:f kfunne for mich on daim disch?
6. Hascht du e glane...
Het ihr schtick sa:f gefunne for mich on my disch?
Het ihr ajer schtick sa:f gefunne uf mai disch?
7. Heder net all bisjer sa:f gefunne on maim disch?
8. Hen ir net schtick saif for mir gfunne uf meim disch?

**33. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.
His brother wants to build himself two beautiful new houses in your garden.**

1. Main bruder will ain neues haus bauen in ajrem garden.
Main bruder will sich zwai sche:ne naje hauser in ainem garden bauen.
2. ---
3. Main bruder will sich ain schenes haus bauen in mainem garden.
4. Sain bruder will e nai haus ...schene haus baue in aire garden.
5. Dain bruder will zwa: schene hauser bauen in daim garde.
6. Sain bruder will baue zwa: schene houses in sain garde.

7. Main bruder der will zwa: schene hauser baue in daim garde
8. Dem sain bruder will zwai wunderscheni nai hauser baue in daim ga:tn.

34. Das Wort kam ihm vom Herzen!
That word came straight from his heart!

1. Des wort kommt schtrat von saim herz.
2. Des wort kommt schtrat von saim herz.
3. Das wort kommt schtrat vom herz.
4. Der wort kommt schtrat vom de herz.
5. Das wort kommt schtrat von de herz.
6. Des wort kommt schtrat von saim herz.
7. Das wort kommt schtrat von saim herz.
8. Des wort komm schtrat von sainem herz.

35. Das war recht von ihnen!
They did the right thing!

1. Die het das richte ding gedue.
2. ---
3. Er hat das rechte ding gedue.
4. Ihr hen de rechte ding gedue.
5. Die henne recht gedue.
 Du host recht gedue.
6. Der hot s rechte ding gedue.
7. Die hen s rechte ding gedue.
8. Di hen s rechte ding gedon.

36. Was sitzen da für Vögelchen oben auf dem Mäuerchen?

What kind of little birds are sitting up there on the little wall?

1. Was for klaine...was for glane vegel sitze dort dro on der wond?

Was for glane... kleine ... vegel sitze dort on de glane wond?

2. ---

3. Was sin die glane vegel die sitze auf de wond?

4. Was for die vegel sitze uf wand?

Was for glane vegel sitze uf ... on de wand?

5. Was fur glane vegel sitze dort on de wand?

6. Was for taube sitze on den glare wand?

Was for glane taube hen de drowwe gesutze on de wand?

7. Was fer vegel sin das wo da drowwe sitze an de wand?

8. Was fer fege sitzn dort obe uf der wont?

37. Die Bauern hatten fünf Ochsen und neun Kühe und zwölf Schäfchen vor das Dorf gebracht. Die wollten sie verkaufen.

The farmers had brought five oxen and nine cows and twelve little sheep before the village. They wanted to sell them.

1. Der bauer hat finf oxsen und nai ki: un zwelf klaine schof in de dorf ... da wolldse verkawe.

Die bauer hadde finf oxsen und nai ki: un zwelf klaine schof gebrocht in dorf un die wollde se verkauwe.

2. ---

3. Die farmers ham finf oxsen gekauft, nain ki:, zwelf schof in dem village ...in dem dorf. Die wollde sell them. Do wollen sie sie verkauwen.

4. De farmer brocht finf oxsen, nai ki:, zwelf schäf zu de dorf. Di wolle se verka:f.
5. Der farmer hot finf okse und nai ki: un zwelf klane schäf in village... Die wollte sie verkawe.
6. Die farmer die hen finf aksen un nai ki: un zwelf schof zu der [...]. Die wolle es verkawe zu dere.
7. Der farmer hat finf okse, nai ki: un zwelf schof geka:wt. Der [brenzt die shtadt is] die wolle die verka:we.

Der farmer hat finf okse, nai ki: un zwelf schof gebrocht wo die shtadt is. Da will die verkawe.
8. Der farmer hat finf okse geko:ft un nain ki: und zwelf glani schof fo der dorf. Der will sie verkawe. Sie wollde sie verkawe.

**38. Die Leute sind heute alle draußen auf dem Felde und mähen.
All the people are outside today in the field and mowing.**

1. All die lait sin draos hait im feld un due mähe.
2. ---
3. All die lait sin draos hait in dem feld und mähen.
4. All det lait sin outside... draos hait in der feld un mähe.
5. Die lait sin all draos hait im feld un mähe.
6. Die laite sin all draos hait in de feld un schnaide.
7. Die lait sin all draos im feld un mowing.

Die lait sin all draos hait im feld un due ackere.
8. All di lait sin draus hait im feld un mäet.

39. Geh nur, der braune Hund tut dir nichts.

Go on, the brown dog won't hurt you.

1. Da geh no, der braone hund der du dich net weh.
Geh do, der braone hund da macht er niks.
2. ---
3. Geh vorun, der braune hund tut kans weh.
4. Geh no, der braone hund tut niks.
5. Geh, der braone hund tut dich net weh.
6. Geh, der braune hund der tut dir niks weh.
7. Geh no, der braone hund der last dich geh, der tut de niks.
8. Ach geh, der braune hund dud aich niks.

40. Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.

I drove with the people back there over the meadow into the grain field.

1. Ich war mit de lait zurik iber die schtepp ins samenfeld kfahre.
2. ---
3. Ich fuhr mit dene leute iber das feld wo das weizenfeld war.
Ich fahre mit den lait zurik in das feld in zu das wazenfeld.
4. Ich fahre mit der lait zurik iwer die feld zu de wazfeld.
5. Bin mit de lait kfahre zurik dort iwer n haifeld [...] wazefeld.
6. Ich hun mit dene lait gefahre iwer des land in das wazefeld.
7. Ich bin mit de lait gefahre dort in wazeland.
Ich hun die lait als [...] in die schteppfelds genumme bis ins wazeland.
8. Ich fade die lait hinne durich die schtepp in das soatfeld.

APPENDIX 5. Questionnaire for additional lexical items.

English	Dialect
I. Weekdays	
Monday	
Tuesday	
Wednesday	
Thursday	
Friday	
Saturday	
Sunday	
II. Family members	
Mother	
Father	
Brother	
Sister	
Aunt	
Uncle	
Son	
Daughter	
Grandfather	
Grandmother	
Grandson	

Granddaughter	
Son-in-Law	
Daughter-in-Law	
Mother-in-Law	
Godfather	
Godmother	
III. Aches	
Headache	
Stomachache	
My foot hurts.	
Running nose	
IV. Seasons	
Fall	
Spring	
Summer	
Winter	
V. Vegetables	
Cabbage	
Red cabbage	
Grains	
Cucumber	

Carrot	
Potato	
Horseradish	
Tomato	
Mushroom	
Leek	
VI. Time of Day	
Last night	
Today	
Today in the morning (this morning)	
This year	
Last year	
Afternoon	
Nothing	
Never	
VII. Numbers	

APPENDIX 6. Questionnaire for additional words from Kratzke, Holstein, and Eckheim (from WDSA).

English	High German	Kratzke	Holstein	Eckheim
aunt	Base, Tante	Weesche, Wēsje	Wees/Wes	Wees/Wes
hiccup	Schluckauf	Schlickser/Schlicksr	Schlickser/ Schlicksr	=
choosey	wählerisch	schneegisch	schnegi(s)ch vrschneeg(er)t	=
to work	schaffen	schaffe	schaffe	=
Russian (language) (person)	russisch	ruschich/ruschig	ruschich/ ruschig	=
twine/twisted yarn	Zwirn	Zwärn	Zwärn	=
	Obertasse	Owerkeppche	Dassekopp	Dassekopp
saucer	Untertasse	Onnerdass	Unrdass	Unrdass
pan	Pfanne	Pann	Pann	=
curd (cheese)	Quark	Kees/Keeis	Keesmatte	Keesmatte
petroleum	Petroleum	Lampeel	Kist	=
chest (box)	Truhe	Kišt	Breddrwand	Kist
timber fence	Bretterzaun	Gefach	latwärje	Breddrwand
bath	Bad	Banje/Banja		=
farm-stead	Weiler	Kutter/Kuddôr		=
cat	Kater	Kaader/Kaadr		=
starling	Star	Sprin, m		Staar
hoopoe	Wiedehopf	n/a		Wittwutt
lady bug	Marienkäfer	Herrgottsvögelchen		=
raspberry	Himbeere	Malinne/Maline		n/a
barrow	Trage	Dracht/Tracht		=

APPENDIX 7. Questionnaire for Additional Russian borrowings.

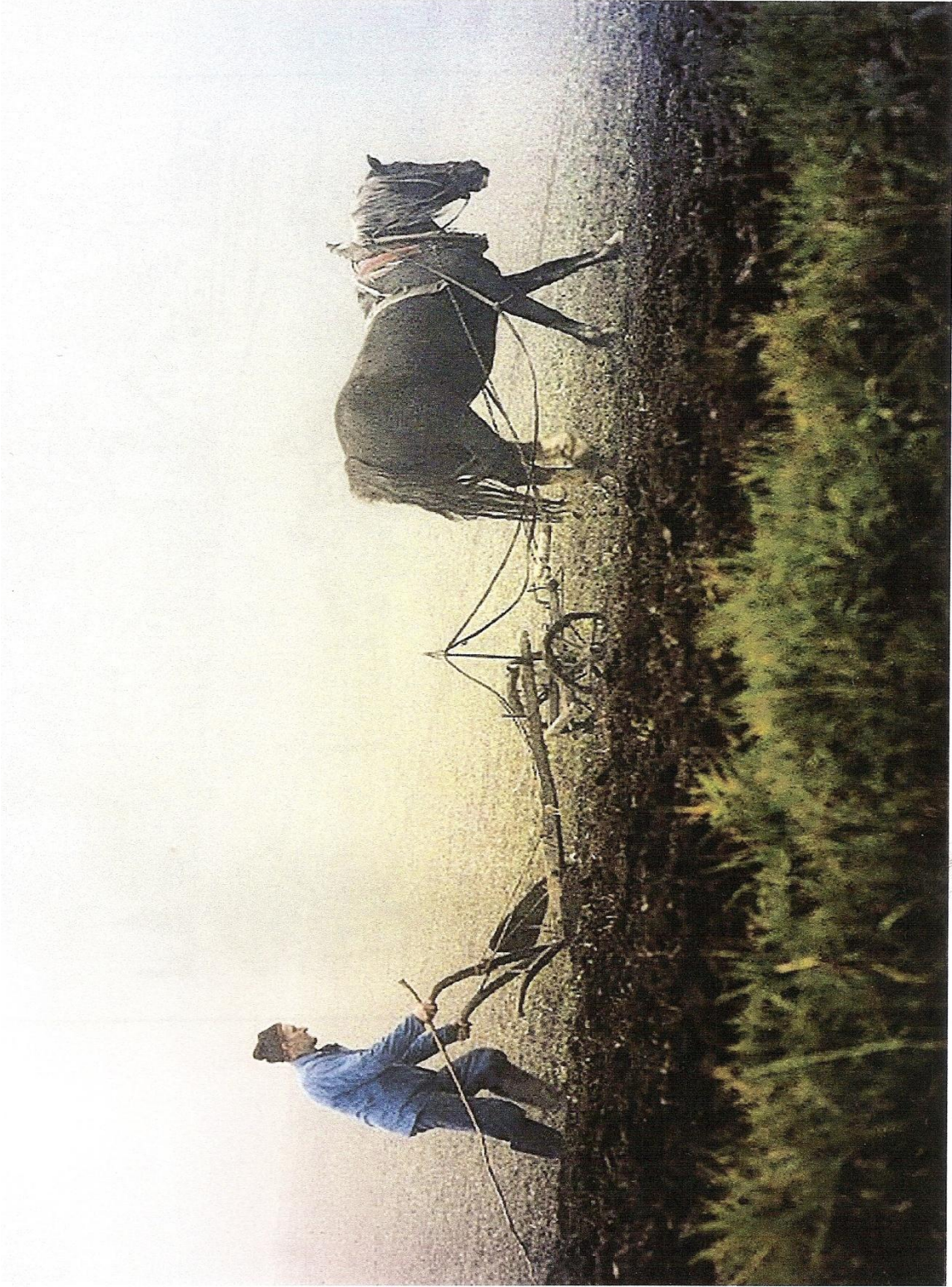
Borrowing	Recognized	Same or other meaning	English	If not recognized, what word was used for this concept
HOF and AGRICULTURE				
ambar			granary	
brosch			land once cultivated but gone back to grass; fallow land	
messit			bran and straw mash for feeding live stock	
pachschu			a garden (plat)	
sedilka			bridge or back band on harness for draft animals	
steppe/shtep			prairie	
saborwand			fence	
siren			lilac (tree)	
sokha			plow	
tabun			herd of horses	
yazl			manger	
FRUITS/BERRIES				
arbus			watermelon	
yagede			berry	
CLOTHING				
baldo/paletot			overcoat	
bolschupke			short overcoat	
galosche			overshoes of rubber or leather	
gofta			short jacket for women	
kardus			a cap	

manischka			shirt with ironed bosom; a starched men's dress shirt	
manschetten			cuffs on shirt	
tulup			a garment; a greatcoat	
sarafan				
fufayka				
khalat				
KITCHEN				
bantke			glass jar	
bedel			bottle	
samovar			tea steeper or self-cooker	
tshugun			cooking pot	
grushge			drinking glass, cup	
brobge			cork/bottle stopper	
blid			stove top	
bodnos			tray	
gleyonke			oilcloth	
konfarge			stove ring	
rugemoinik			hanging washbasin	
kipjatok			Boiling	
EXPRESSIVES				
betta!			awful!	
ninatte			by no means (negative)	
Parschol!			Go away!	
parscholista			please	
scharmand			pretty; fine garment; considerable in amount	
baba			woman	
batyshka			little father	
matushka			little mother	

durak!			fool!	
kabile			mare (big woman)	
balvan!			thickhead!	
broshai			goodbye	
sdrasdi			good day	
bardak			bordello, mess	
ras			a while	
HOUSE				
grulitz			a small closed porch	
nuschnik			Toilet	
sarai			a small building to a house	
simlinka			a dugout	
bolge			shelf	
shulan			pantry	
messit			Bran and straw mash for fed	
RELATIONS				
gumya			partner, pal, comrad	
svakha				
snagome			acquaintance	
FOOD and DRINKS				
kalotsch			loaf of white bread baked in a big outdoor oven	
bliny goryachi			hot pancakes	
ikra			caviar	
kapusta			cabbage	
kvas				
nalivki				
gulitch			Easter cake	
kadlede			Rissole (meat balls)	
patschenye			cookies	
prenik			pepper cake (ginger bread)	

suchar			zwieback	
blina			filled pancake	
blushka			milk rolls	
baklazhan			tomato?	
Bulka			white bread	
OTHER				
papyros			cigarette	
gaas			petroleum	
bitshofge			string	
gosudar'			tsar	
denezhka			money/coin or bill	
kabak			pub	
pristan'			harbor	
dulya			Insulting gesture	
gorjko			crowd kissing after a kiss	
chetvert'			quarter	
stans			railroad station	
vogsal			railroad waiting room	
knopka			pushbutton	
machorca			tobacco	
resinge			rubber band	
savod			factory	
shamendant			suitcase	
katchele			swing	
sumge			bag	
gulyanka			party	
basxa			Easter	
HORSE				
knout/plet/plyotka			whip/riding quirt	
jemtschik			driver of a vehicle	
khomut				
LAW				
klapot			a lawsuit; hence; any trouble	

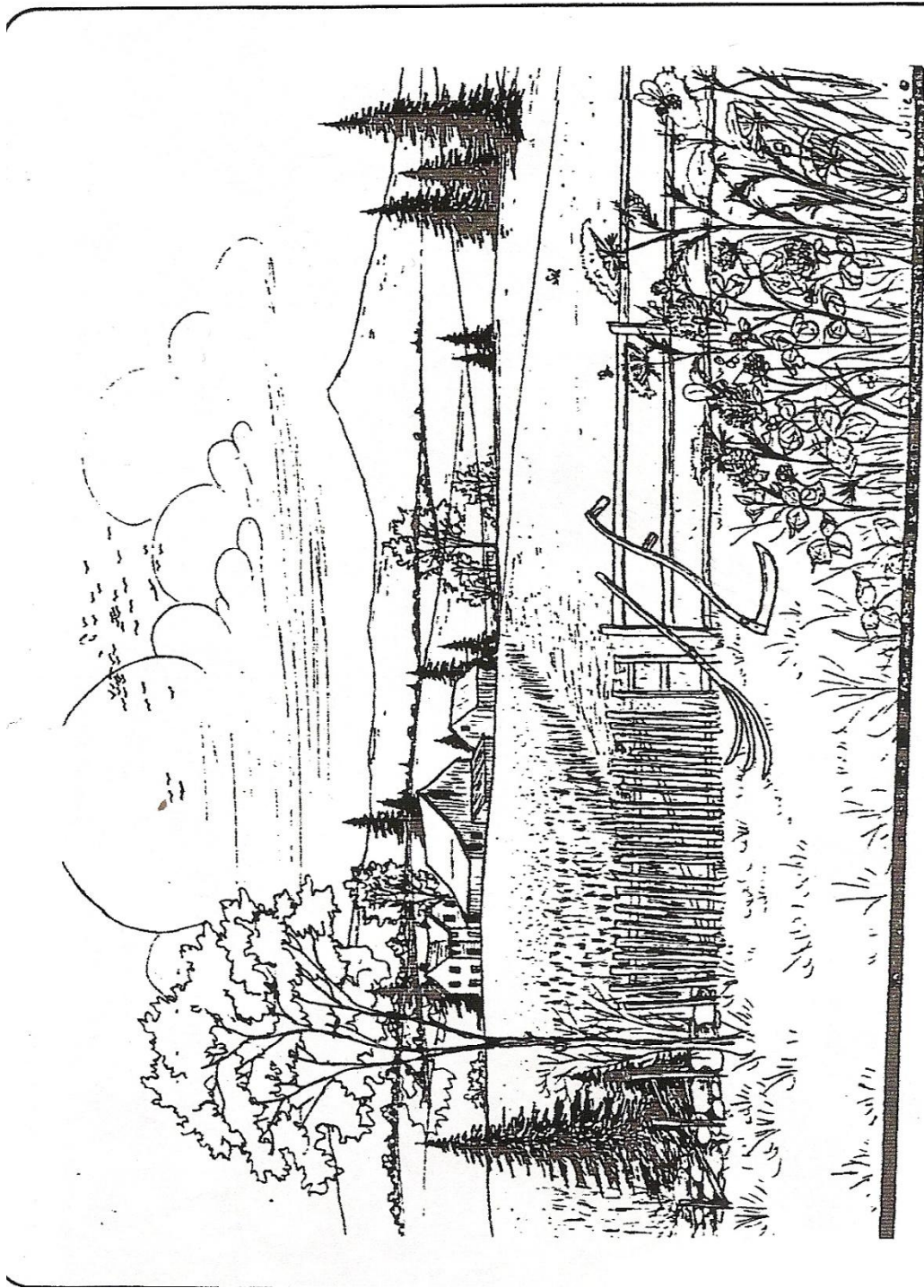
natschelnik			a kind of court officer	
poshlina			fee	
ukaz				
natchalstvo			authorities	
chabar			bribe	
chutor			property	
PROFESSIONS				
plodnik			a carpenter	
radnik			recruit	
sotnik			a constable	
bop			pastor	
storozh				
ANIMALS/INSECTS/BIRDS/FISH				
kamar			mosquito	
beluga				
kohski			cats	
sazan				
sevryuga				
sudak				
suslik			gopher, ground squarrel	
tarakan			cockroach	
VERBS				
dratsya			to fight/wrestle	
kushat'			to eat	
barotse			to wrestle	
blesaye			to dance	
gulaye			to tipple	
katatsa			to take someone for a drive	
OTHER				
papyrus			cigarette	
plet			riding whip	
prostoi			common	
retschka			creek	
sedilka			Harness bridge for horses	
sutki			24 hours	
tschesnok			garlic	





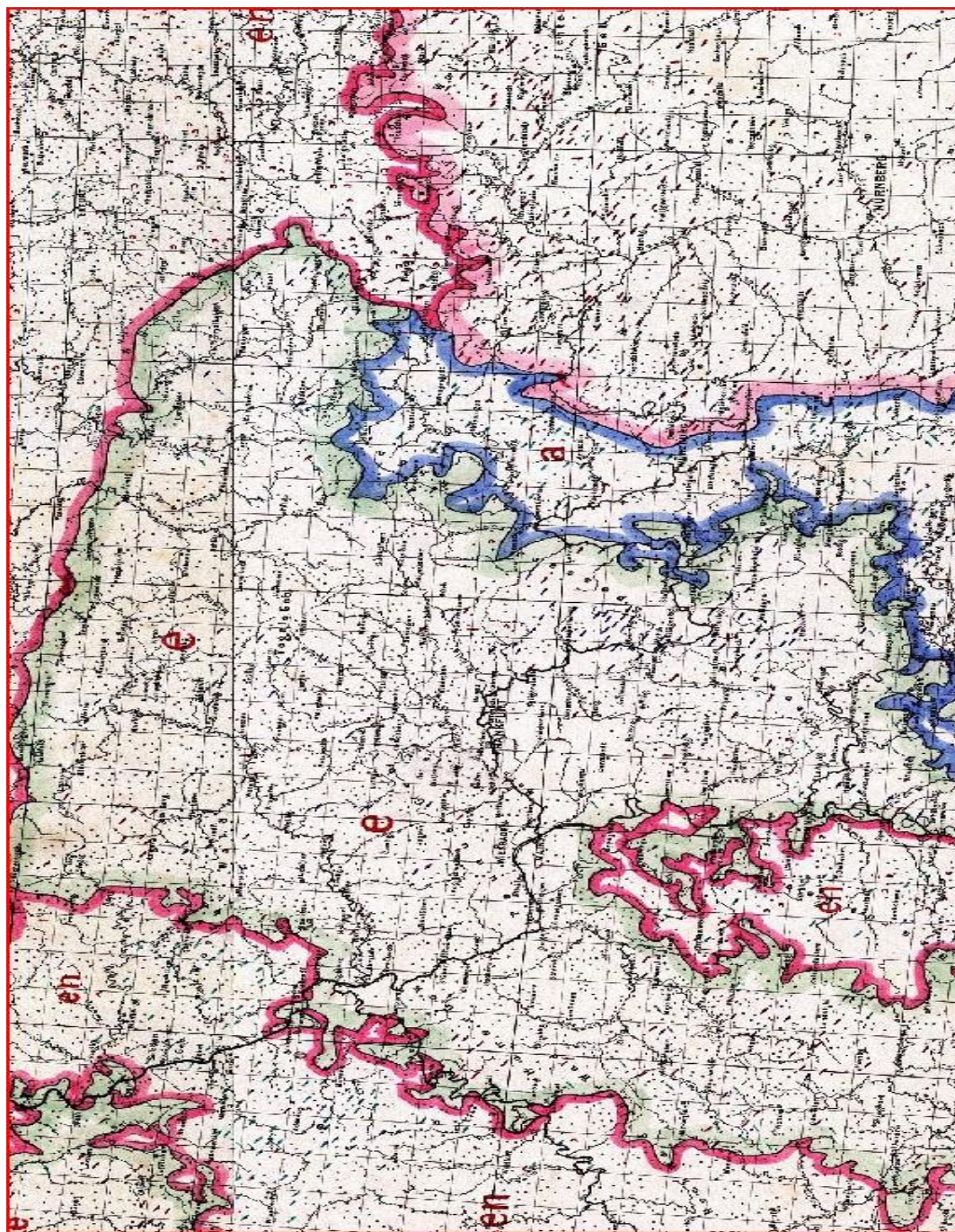
Julia ©

Just the right time



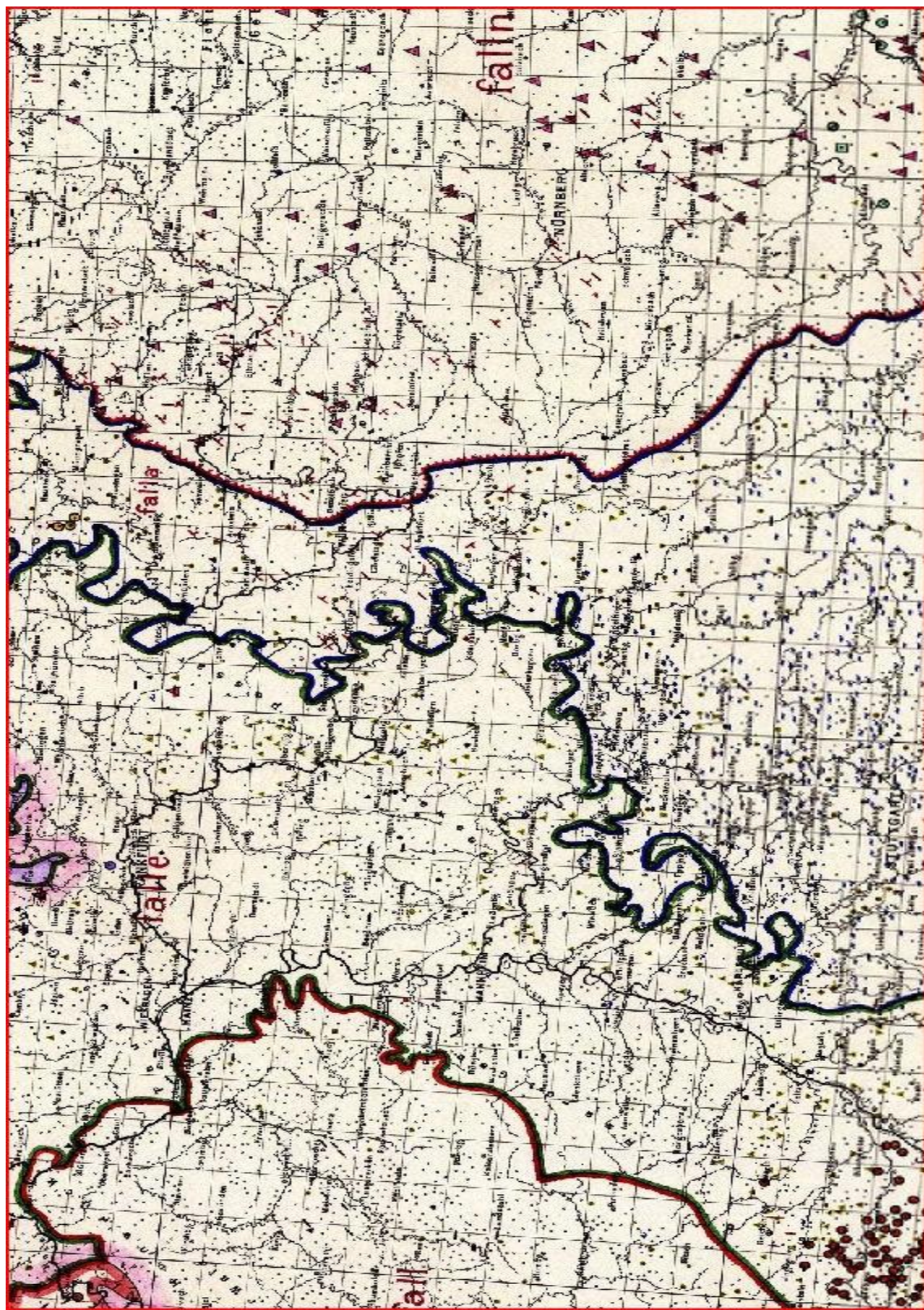


Appendix 9. Maps from DIWA.⁷⁵

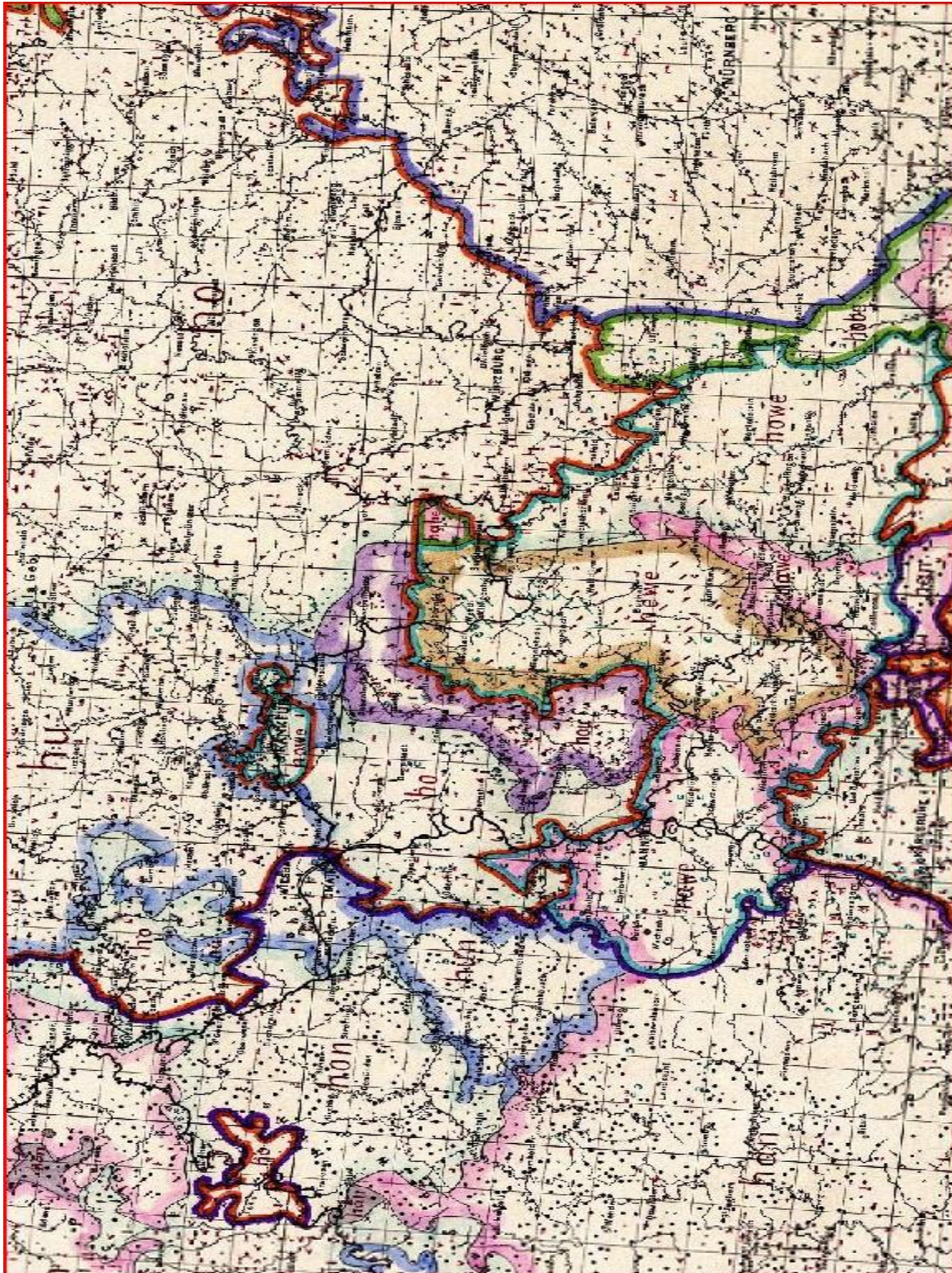


Map 1. *beissen*, 3rd person plural ending (sentence #14).

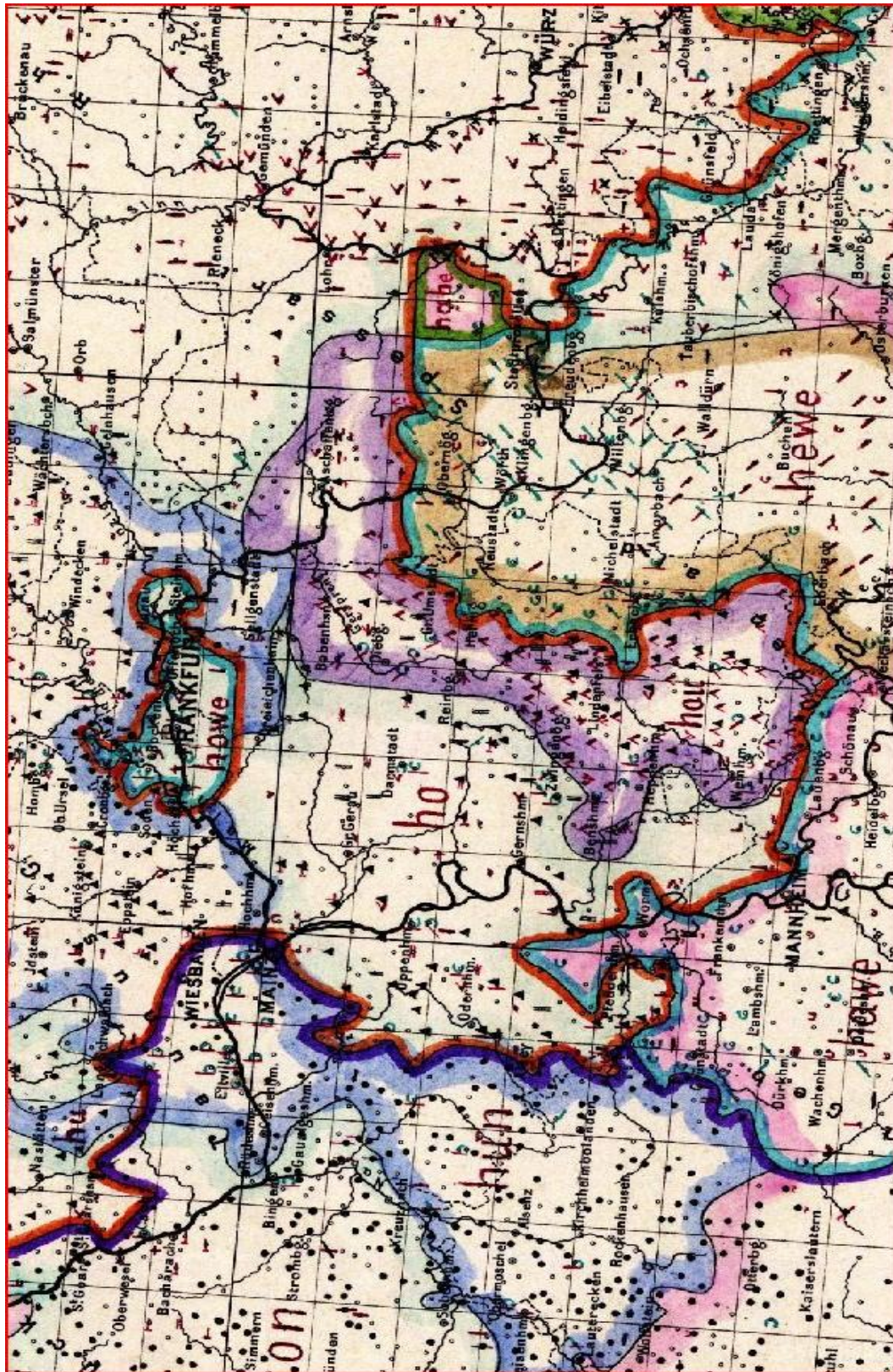
⁷⁵ All maps can be found at <http://137.248.81.135/main.asp?P=catalog>



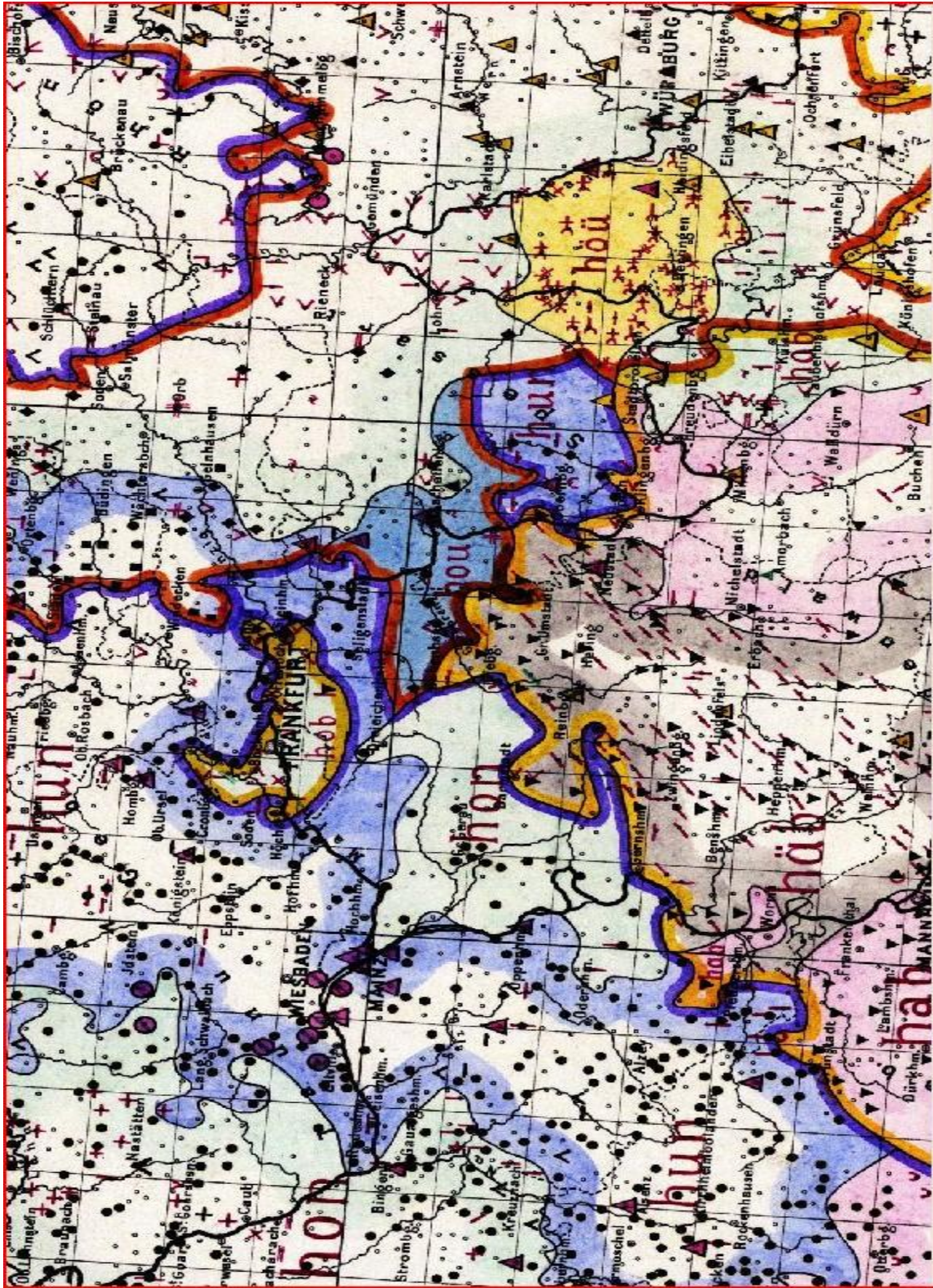
Map 2. gefallen, ending of past participles (sentence #4).



Map 3 (zoomed out). haben, infinitive (sentence #30).



Map 3.1 (zoomed in). haben, infinitive (sentence #30).



Map 4. (ich) habe, 1st person singular (sentence #8, #9).

Farben- und Zeichenerklärung:

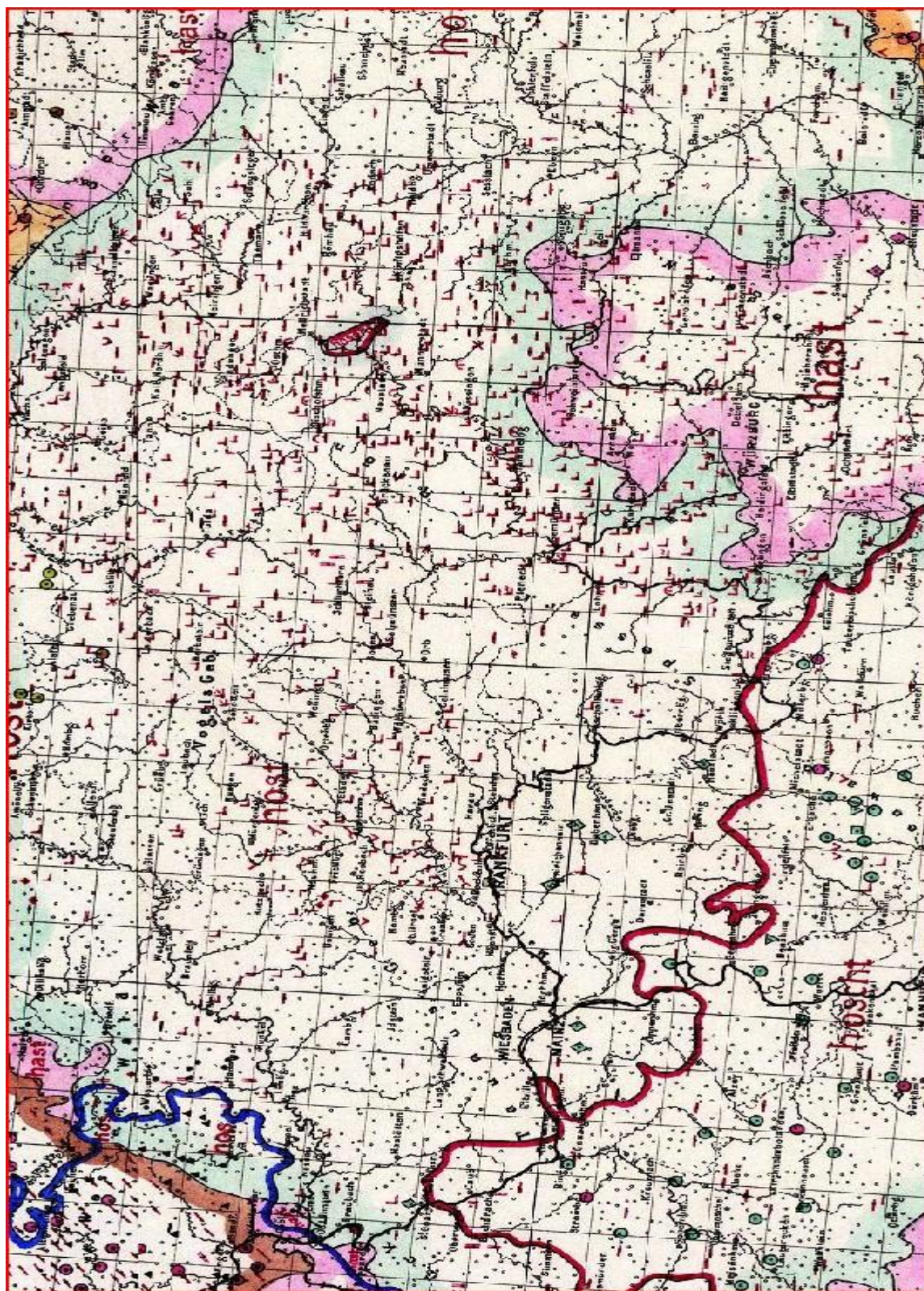
Vokale:	habe	-ä-	-a tief	-ao-	u-	-bb	-be	hebb
-a-	hat	-ä-	x-ä-	v-ou-	-p	-bbe	-bb	-hääb
-o-	han	-ö-	x-ö-	u-ä-	-pp	-we	+heab	+heab
-u-	Anl.ch-	-a-	t-ä-	u-ä-	-w	-vwe	hää	hää
-cu-	Anl.j-	u-ä-	-o-	u-ä-	-n	-ve	he	he
-au-	-e-	-ä-	u-ö-	u-ou-	-(n)	hätt etc	hei	hei
-öü-	-ë-	-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	-nn	hää	hai	hai
-ä-	-ea-	-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	-m	hää	heig	heig
Consonanten:	-t	-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	-mm	hää(t)	haig	haig
	-r	-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	-ng	heb	haig	haig
	-l	-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	-nng	heb	haik	haik
		-ä-	-ö-	u-ou-	+-	hee	-	-

ohne

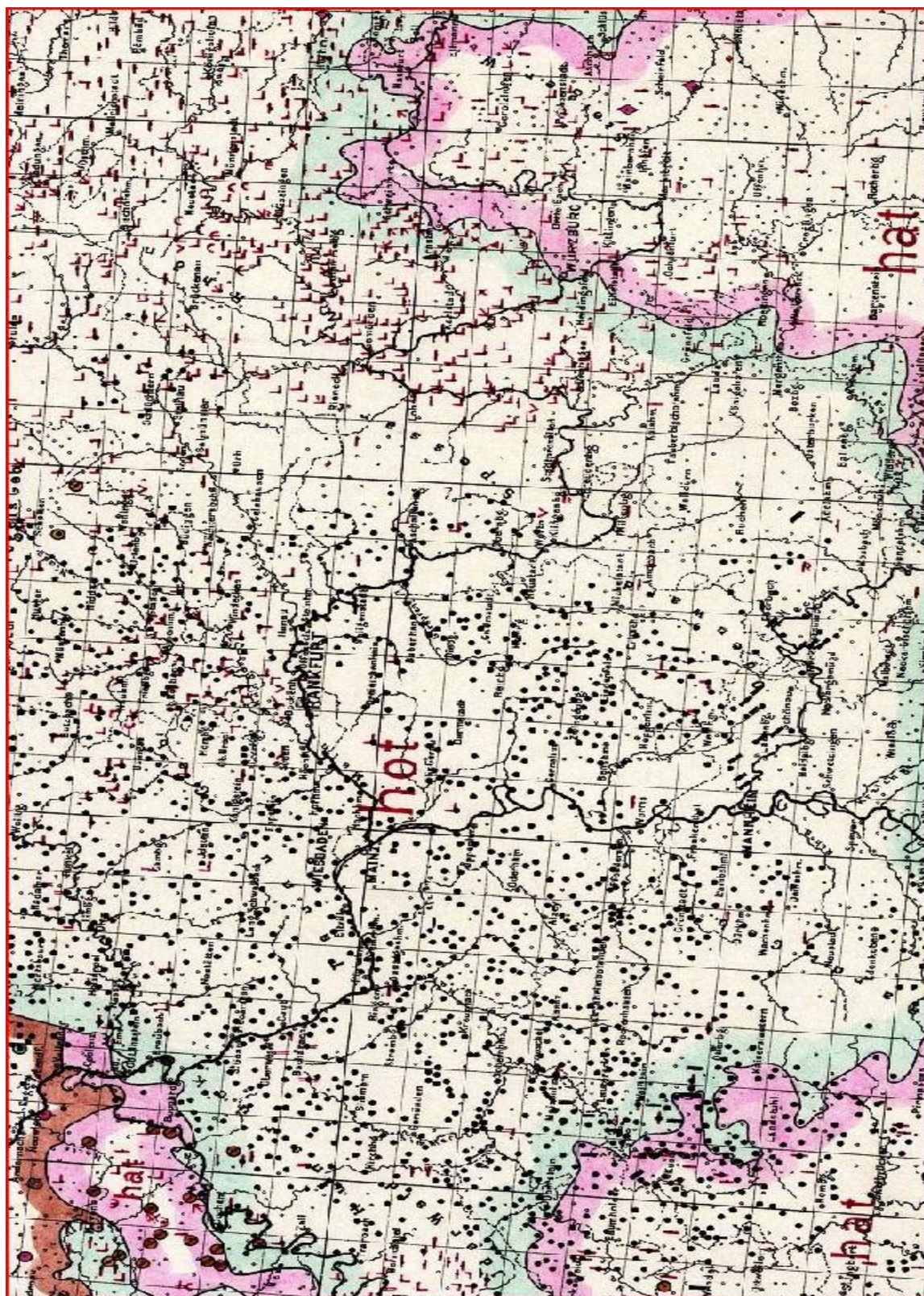
sondierung

-falsche Orte

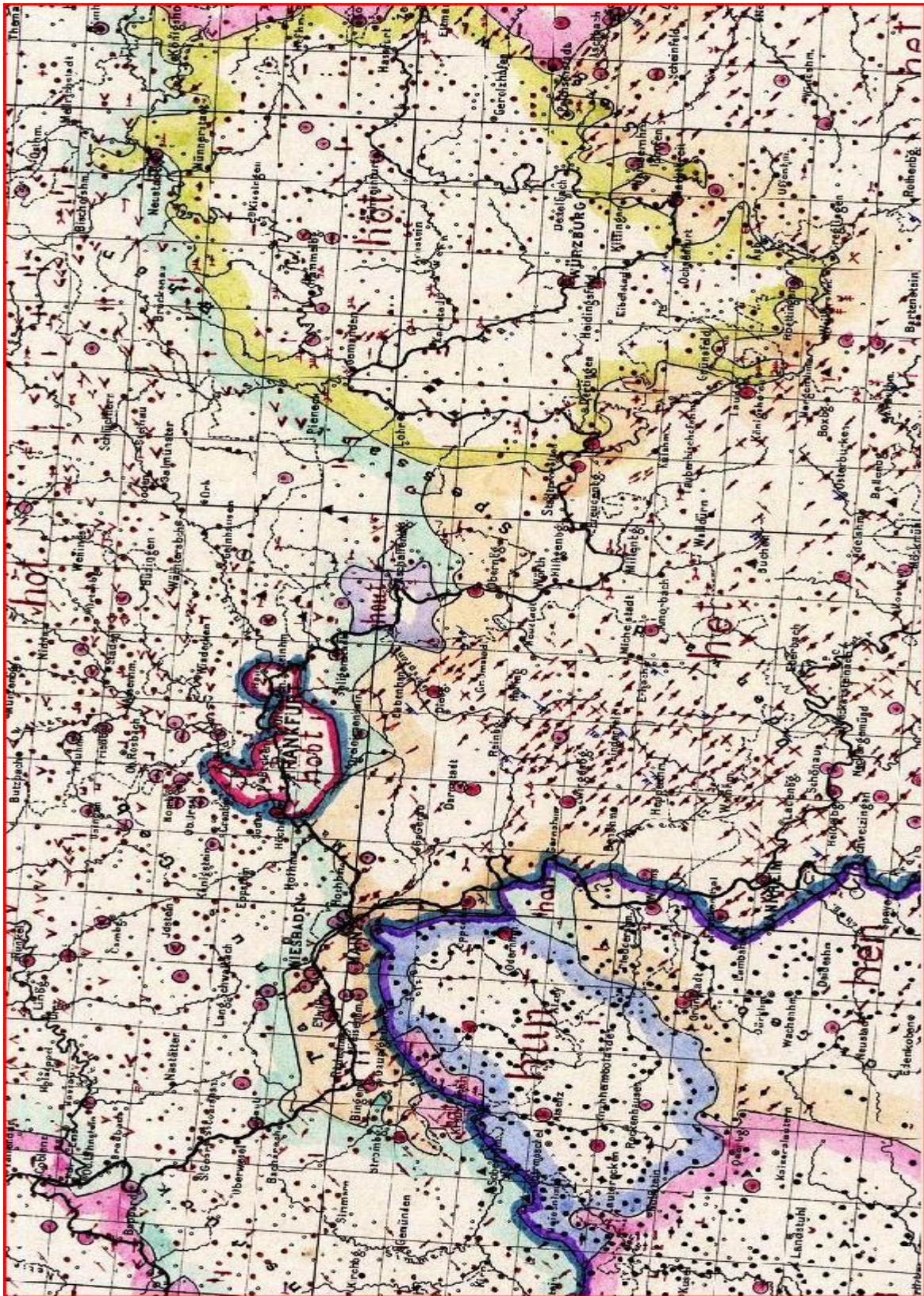
Map 4a. (ich) habe, 1st person singular (sentence #8, #9).



Map 5. (*du*) *hast*, 2nd person singular (sentence #15).



Map 6. (*er*) **hat**, 3rd person singular (sentence #19).



MaM

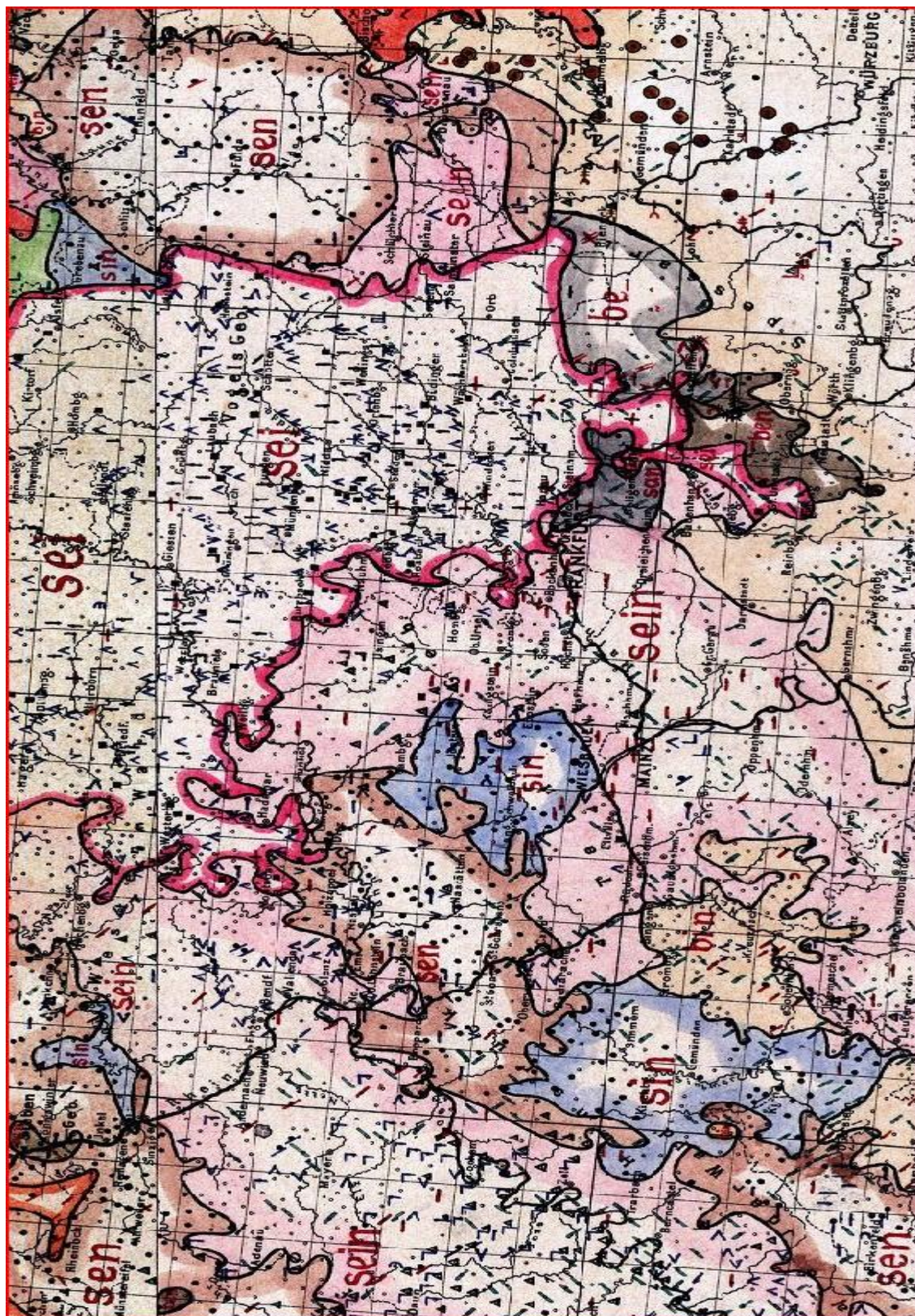
Map 7. (*ihr*) habt, 2nd person plural (sentence #32).

Farben- und Zeichenerklärung:

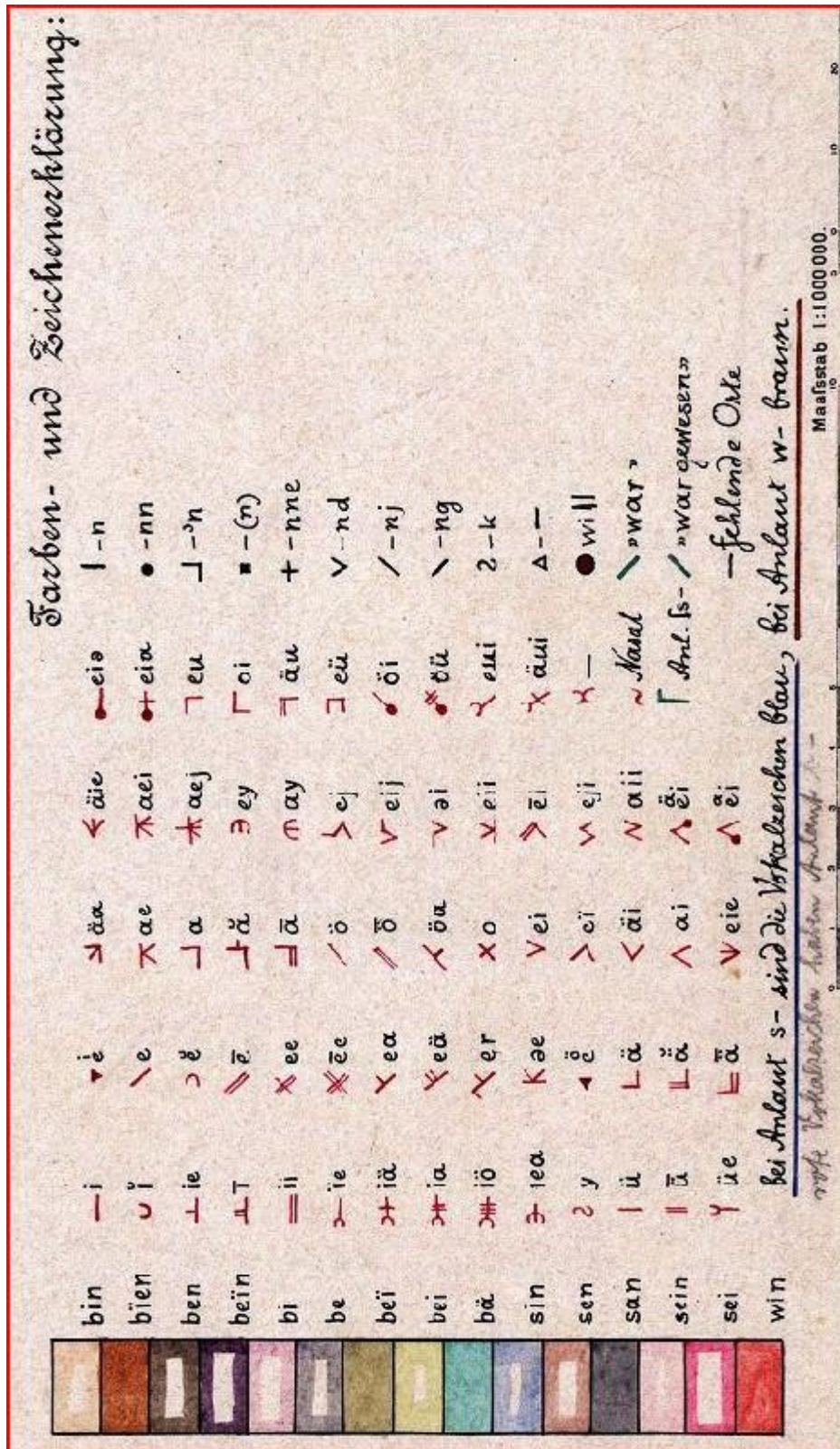
he-	hā-	hō-	ha-	ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	+ -bst
he-	hā-	hō-	ha-	ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	+ -bst
hā-	hō-	ha-	ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t
hō-	ha-	ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t
ha-	ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
ho-	hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
hu-	hou-	hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
hou-	hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
hai-	-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
-bt	-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
-t	-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
-n	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t	-t
-nt	-ts	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs
-ts	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs
-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs	-bs
habt													

Maßstab 1:1000000

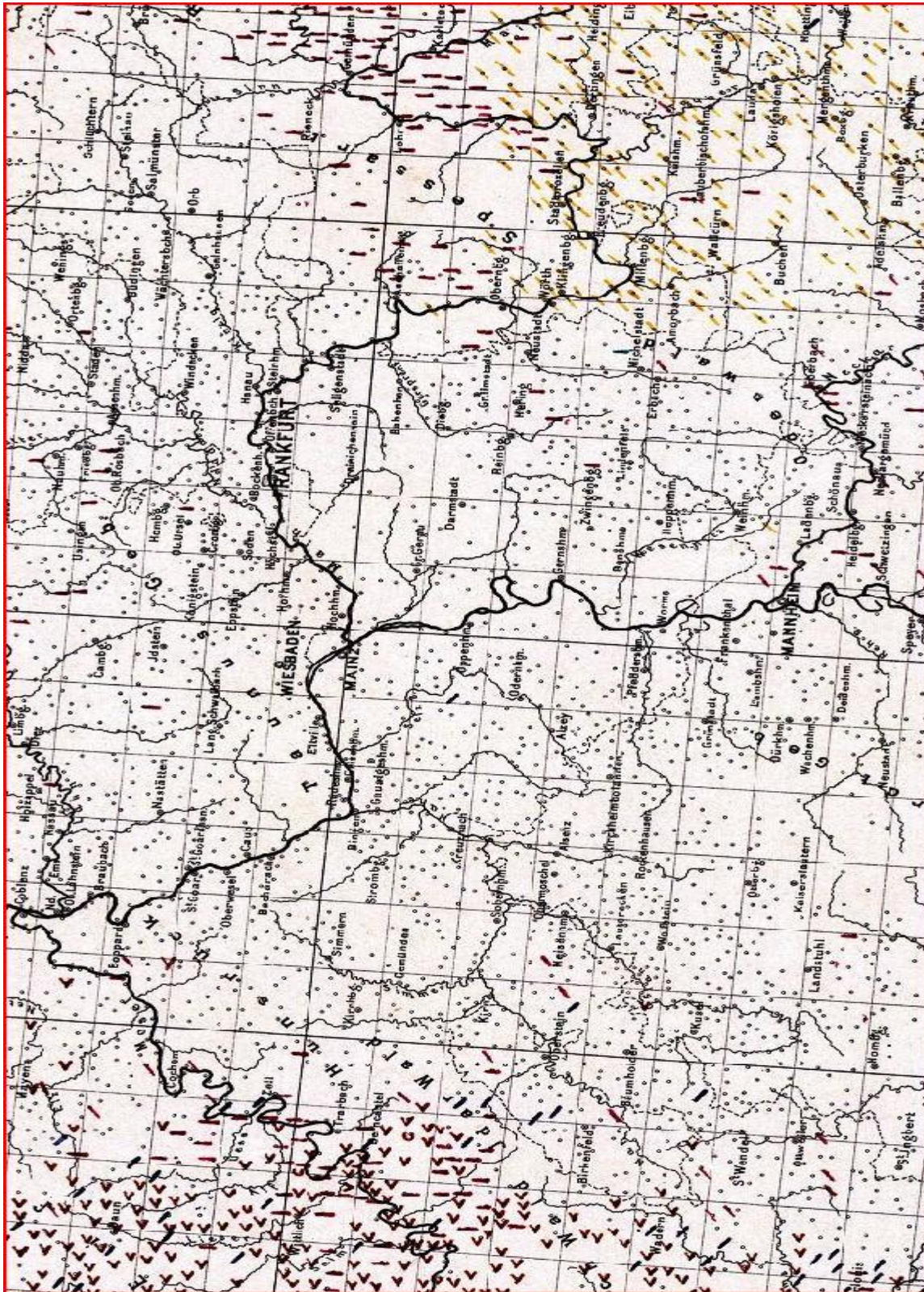
Map 7a. (ihr) habt, 2nd person plural (sentence #32).



Map 8. (*ich*) **bin**, 1st person singular (sentence #9, #40).

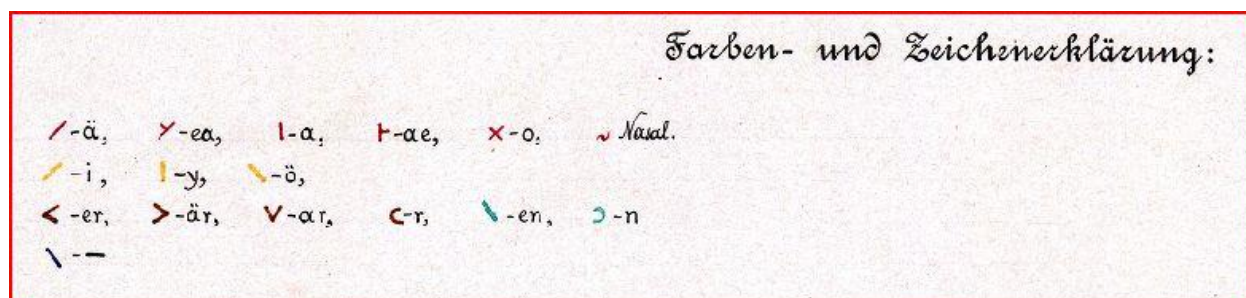


Map 8a. (*ich*) **bin**, 1st person singular (sentence #9, #40).



Map 9.

schöne, adjective ending for plural accusative (sentence #33).



Map 9a. schöne, adjective ending for plural accusative (sentence #33).